

fifth estate

INSIDE: A MAD ISSUE

THE PSYCHIATRIC OPPRESSION OF YOUTH

Bruce E. Levine

I WAS CORRUPTED BY MAD (MAGAZINE)

Bernard Marszalek

MADNESS & SURREALISM

Penelope Rosemont

MADNESS, REBELLION, & COMMUNITY GARDENS

Kelly Pflug-Back

Fall 2013

www.fifthestate.org

AN ANARCHIST IN N. KOREA

Mutual Aid in Times of Crisis

16 Theses on the Cell Phone

An Anarchist in Palestine

Numb & Number

Anarchist Film Making



\$4



LETTERS

Our readers respond

Send letters to fe@fifthestate.org or Fifth Estate, POB 201016, Ferndale MI 48220
 All formats accepted including typescript & handwritten; letters may be edited for length

What Size?

Not many mistakes in your Summer 2013 edition, but one I saw that referred to the 7-1/2" penis. It shrank significantly from the headline measurement of "Lessons from a 7-Foot Penis."

D. Borts
 Ferndale, Mich.

FE Note: One can only assume that it depends on a state of arousal or lack of it.

Not Enough Sex or Women

It was surprising that in a 48-page issue about Sex and Anarchy [Summer 2013 FE], only 12 pages were devoted to the topic. Barely 16 if you count Marie Mason's poem and the two book reviews. Likewise, if you count Marie's poem, only two of the eleven writers were women. Yet another surprise.

None of the articles proposed any long-term solutions such as specific societal changes to our current state of sexual dysfunction. Most did not even attempt a thorough analysis of how we got to the point we're at now, or even bother to address current events.

Rob Dubey's book review of *Sex and Punishment* did touch on the religious aspects but only via Hebrew law and Christianity. Patrick Dunn's "To Abolish Rape, Overthrow Male Desire," made an effort, but was written in terms most people would be hard pressed to understand.

Due to our becoming an almost totally domesticated species, we seem to have become collectively ashamed of our natural sexual impulses, our wild sexuality. Confused and frustrated, this collective neurosis leads us to behave in ways that take the joy out of sex and life itself, making our learned sexual behavior the antithesis of a full realized life.

This dysfunction is rooted in the patriarchal religions that dominate our species. The scared texts of every major

religion reek with the hatred and oppression of women and the glorification of war and murder in the name of God or the Gods, from the Hindu and Buddhist Mahabharata to the Jewish Torah, Christian bible, and the Islamic Q'uran.

Despite the layers of beautiful sounding platitudes plastered over the top of these religious dung heaps, the stench remains and projects itself into the unnatural and mediate spectacle that is the modern world.

Rand W. Gould and Maureen A. Kane
 Lapeer, Mich.

Plug for Monogamy and Marriage

I can't help but respond to the article, "Polyamory and Power: A Confession and Critique," by Andrew William Smith, in your Summer 2013 Sex & Anarchy issue, because of how problematic it is.

If the author's use of anecdotal first person narratives to extrapolate and make wholly unsubstantiated broad claims about human sexuality and the underdeveloped scattered logic of the entire article weren't enough to annoy the shit out of its readers, the uncritical praise for gay marriage would certainly put anyone still reading over the edge.

The article's culminating plug for monogamy and marriage as "an enduring social norm for good reason" should be horrifying to us all. Although the author alludes to an emerging equal partnership model for marriage, which places the emphasis on negotiating interpersonal dynamics, he does little to address the structural power imbalances inherent in the institution itself (i.e., gender hierarchy, gendered divisions of labor—even among same-sex couples, racial and class implications, etc.). This kind of shoddy analysis ignores over a century of work by radical feminists from Emma Goldman to Yasmin Nair, in favor of a whitewashed version of "equality" politics.

The article goes on to dismiss those

of us queers who take a critical stance on (gay) marriage by writing us off as wannabe outsiders (lefties and genderqueers, oh my!) hanging on to our passé critique of gay marriage instead of actually addressing our economic critiques of the institution, gay, straight, or otherwise.

Marriage is the primary institution through which the labor of care is privatized to the immediate nuclear family and functions as the nexus through which all our primary needs are met. This is neoliberalism at its finest and most personal.

If you don't have health care or you have precarious immigration status, well, just go get married! If not, go die somewhere else! An enduring social norm worth upholding indeed.

A few statements from the article I'd like to address directly since they are not supported by any actual evidence. Simply saying something does not make it true.

"Marriage could be seen not only as a state or religious institution, but as a community one." Oh, really. The day the state stops issuing marriage license with all the attendant benefits and the church stops officiating weddings, I'll jump right on board.

"...[M]arriage may redeem its historical roots in the contemporary period by its own transformation as a new kind of social norm." Guess what; marriage already is a social norm. And, do tell me more about these historical roots of marriage? I would love to hear about how marriage hasn't always been about maintaining private property and wealth through family clans over the centuries.

"[Gay marriage] has become the civil rights issue of our time." Thanks to a bunch of wealthy white professionals working in the non-profit/industrial complex, it has, indeed, become the civil rights issue of our time. Equality™ has

Continued on Page 46

This is not the Fifth Estate...

...that is the new movie drama about WikiLeaks and Julian Assange.

Nor, is it the CBC-TV news program.

Nor, the band which produced the 1960s hit, "Ding-Dong! The Witch Is Dead."

And, it isn't the recently constituted leftist web site of the same name which continues to use the title even after we requested that they find another.

You are reading the *Fifth Estate* magazine which published its first edition as a tabloid, a so-called underground newspaper, in 1965.

This is our 390th issue. Its theme is "Mad" in all of its manifestations. Please enjoy the content and let us know if you have a comment.

As usual, we want to thank our writers, editors, photographers, artists, proofreaders, and the other several dozen people who assure that we will make our 50th anniversary in two years.

Also, a thank you to all of those who make our existence possible by financially supporting the *Fifth Estate* through subscriptions, donations, and Sustainer pledges.

If you received this issue as free distro, please know that we are only

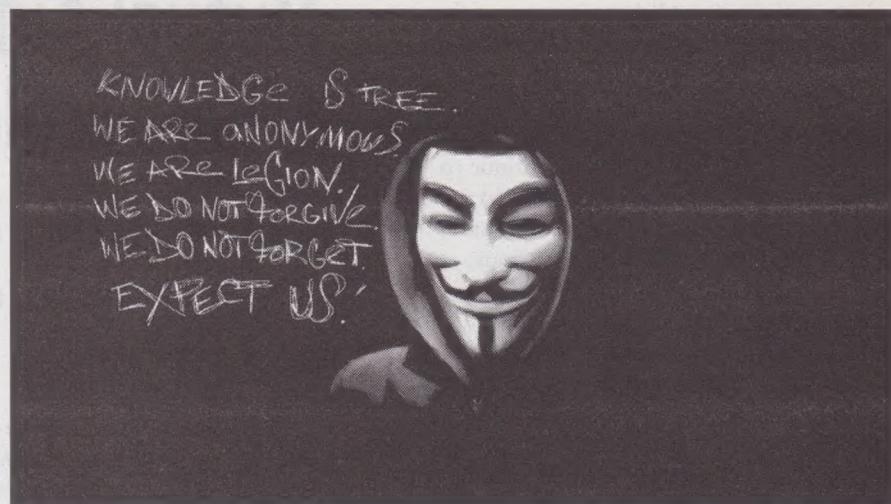
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The U.S. government indicted 13 suspected members of the hacking group Anonymous Oct. 3 accusing them of attacking government, credit card, and lobbying websites. They are charged with "conspiracy to intentionally cause damage to protected computers" as part of Anonymous' Operation Payback. Defense for these comrades will be forthcoming.

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Cover photo: Pierre Garine —Bridge across the Yalu River to N. Korea

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able to continue publishing because of the mutual aid mentioned above. Subscribers and Sustainers are our backbone.

Please consider becoming one. Information is at our web site fifthestate.org.

Speaking of free distro, we continue to offer readers bundles of 50 (or less) to pass out at events or locations, a process that has greatly increased our subscriptions. Postage (about \$7 for 50) is helpful, but not necessary.

Our worst nightmare is undistributed issues being shredded at the recycle center, so help get the message of revolutionary anarchism out to a world that desperately needs an alternative to the present state of affairs that seems to worsen with each passing day.

Single back issues of the Fifth Estate are available from Little Black Cart along with a large stock of other anarchist publications. See their web page for the FE at littleblackcart.com/Fifth-Estate.

Subscribers often include an extra few dollars with their subscriptions so we can continue the long standing anarchist tradition of sending free issues to prisoners.

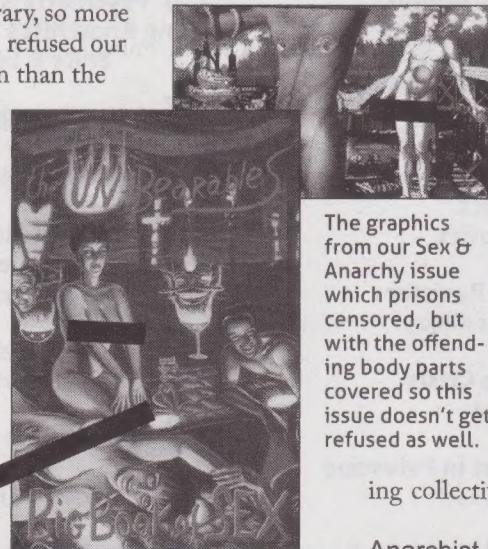
Censorship inside the U.S. gulag is random and arbitrary, so more prison mail rooms refused our issue on Education than the last one with the theme of Sex and Anarchy.

However, a few were returned, usually stating, "Publication contains sexually explicit images."

The *Fifth Estate* has a number of Twitter followers, but we have suspended use of it for the time being since we lack a Twitterer!

The best way to keep in touch is through being on our email list (send requests to fe@fifthestate.org) or our web page (fifthestate.org), through which you can link to our Facebook page.

Please enjoy this issue. We welcome comments on our Letters page.



The graphics from our Sex & Anarchy issue which prisons censored, but with the offending body parts covered so this issue doesn't get refused as well.

Readers are encouraged to research these sketches for themselves, to explore the rich depths of shared responsibilities that we have within our milieus. Cooperation or mutual aid among various human and non-human animals has been documented over the last 100 years in many disciplines including anthropology, social theory, politics, and evolutionary biology.

Despite living under economic and cultural systems that reward sociopathic behavior such as self-interest and narcissism (your average Fortune 500 CEO and politicians are examples), that are continually reinforced by the media, culture industry and economists, voluntary cooperation for mutual benefit still appears at every turn in many forms.

People do care for each other and willingly work together for their mutual betterment in a variety of ways. For anarchists, Peter Kropotkin's seminal *Mutual Aid*, published in 1902, became the starting point for naming collective endeavors and giving them a social and political reference.

Anarchist Black Cross

Mutual aid in times of disaster appears in the early days of the 1917 Russian Revolution with the formation of the Anarchist Black Cross (ABC). The organization broke from the relief efforts of the International Red Cross (IRC) in Russia and the Ukraine shortly after the revolution because the IRC refused to support prisoners, especially anarchist political prisoners, who were in dire need of medical attention and food.

The ABC worked to alleviate this problem, with autonomous chapters springing up world wide. Members provided material aid, and calling attention to prisoners' plight. Autonomous ABC chapters continue to sup-

Mutual Aid in Times of Crisis: Ecological, Economic, and Political

On the ground, doing what is needed

BY SCOTT CROW

"The mutual-aid tendency in man has so remote an origin, and is so deeply interwoven with all the past evolution of the human race, that it has been maintained by mankind up to the present time, notwithstanding all vicissitudes of history."

Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*

"Every daring attempt to make a great change in existing conditions, every lofty vision of new possibilities for the human race, has been labeled Utopian."

Emma Goldman

This essay is a cursory introduction to the long anarchist histories of mutual aid, specifically in the context of responding to disasters or crisis, so that we, as contemporary anarchists, may see ourselves as building on these traditions.

port political prisoners.

Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution

In July 1936, fascist generals, led by Francisco Franco, attempted to overthrow the elected Spanish government, provoking what is generally known as the Spanish Civil War, but referred to by anarchists as the war and social revolution in Spain. In the midst of social and military turmoil, through decentralized collectives and federations predicated on mutual aid and solidarity, many of the basic needs and more of the population were met.

Anarchists began organizing in Spain in the 1880s, and millions of people across Spain were able to participate in working together in the cities and in the countryside to fight fascism and at the same time, reorganize civil society along anarchist ideas. They were ultimately crushed by the collusion of fascists and Communists, but for three years they provided thousands of examples of how mutual aid in disaster and crisis could exist within an anarchist framework.

Street Medics/ Food Not Bombs

During the anti-nuclear movements of the 1970s and '80s, many anarchist practices were adopted in mobilizations across the US, from places as diverse as the Clamshell Alliance in New England and long occupations of the Nevada nuclear test site among many others. In addition to using decentralized organizing, power sharing and affinity groups, the movement saw the birth and growth of two strands of decentralized mutual aid—street medics and Food Not Bombs.

Street medics (those with varying degrees of medical practice from first aid training to doctors) had attended protests since the late 1960s, but now took active roles in supporting people who had been tear-gassed, beaten, trampled, or injured by law enforcement brutality at mass demonstrations.

Food Not Bombs (FNB), rooted in its decentralized network of autonomous chapters to feed people worldwide, also became active in the early 1970s anti-nuke movements. FNB feeding people under duress was a common sight at the anarchist-led protests in the streets as well as in deserts of indigenous lands of Nevada.

Rise of Anarchist Mutual Aid post-Seattle

The influence of anarchism had been gaining ground in the US since the 1970s, but acceler-

ated rapidly in the 1990s. When the World Trade Organization met in Seattle in 1999, anarchists were at the forefront of the mobilization against neoliberal policies of corporate globalization. A large scale anarchist renaissance emerged at successive massive summit protests in North America.

Attended by tens of thousands of people, these mass mobilizations brought anarchist ideas and practices, including mutual aid and solidarity to the forefront to the extent not seen in the US in generations. This lead to the growth of large, informal anarchist networks of street medics, legal, communications, and direct action collectives.

After Disasters and Crisis

Mutual aid for the 21st century, built on anarchist traditions, began to look different after the turn of the century and its rocky first decade. Disasters (both man-made, economic and ecological) took their tolls on the psyche of the people in the US, but something important emerged along the way: frontline grassroots, decentralized cooperation in dealing with these disasters outside of the state and the non-profit industrial complex.

Common Ground Collective

When Hurricane Katrina struck the Gulf Coast in fall of 2005, people worldwide could see the failure of the US government and Red Cross response. The state criminalized desperate people, prioritizing restoring "law and order" instead of rescue and relief efforts. The Red Cross, with all its resources, was woefully inadequate and unresponsive to the dire needs, but managed to raise a billion dollars in donations in a few short weeks.

From the outset, a few of us activists on the ground asked questions: Could these informal post-Seattle networks like street medics, Indymedia, Homes not Jails, Food Not Bombs, etc., be called to participate in disaster relief? Could street medics form a clinic; could that clinic become a hospital? Could Food Not Bombs feed people for the long term?

These questions led to reaching out to those networks for supplies, people and resources. Decentralized relief efforts sprang up out of this chaos. One of them was the Common Ground Collective, formed soon after the hurricane hit, in the Algiers section of New Orleans which became the largest anarchist inspired organization in modern US history.

Common Ground's foundational premises were simple: mutual aid and solidarity, expressed through



New Orleans headquarters of the Common Ground Collective

the slogan "Solidarity Not Charity."

Medics and health professionals, legal teams, Indymedia reporters, open source computer programmers, micro radio installers, eviction defense activists—organizers and volunteers came from these networks, bringing supplies and other people to support communities by providing relief and rebuilding, letting people determine their own futures.

Volunteers engaged with individuals and neighborhoods on varied projects from armed community defense against white racist militias, gardens, neighborhood assemblies, and trash clean-up to free schools, house gutting and eviction defense. What made Common Ground different than most other relief models was that mutual aid and resistance to authority were consciously woven into its analysis and most of its practice in building collective liberation.

Over 28,000 volunteers came through the project in the first three years to support these communities that had been devastated, neglected and ignored even before Katrina ever hit. It was a mutual aid after crisis for the 21st century.

The Common Ground Collective was a manifestation of these ideas, but it was to have a reverberating impact outside of the Gulf Coast, both through the stories of organization and because tens of thousands of people had participated in the project over the years.

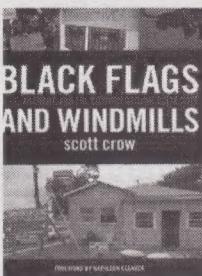
Occupy Movements

The next disaster anarchist mutual aid addressed on a large scale was a human created economic one: In 2007, Wall Street bankster greed and financial Ponzi schemes created a financial meltdown in the US causing massive job losses, collapsed businesses, and evaporated life savings, leading to large scale home foreclosures and evictions.

Spontaneously, it seemed, thousands rose up to retake public spaces by reclaiming the commons, gathering together in mutual aid in city after city. Millions of disaffected people supported the various movements under the umbrella name Occupy in September 2011. Again, much like the efforts after Katrina, different communities came together, working cooperatively to defend themselves, feed each other and share experiences.

Mutual aid emerged within urban park Occupy campsites, in eviction defense actions, factories and street protests across the country. Organizers and volunteers who had been active within Common Ground were part of the Occupy decentralized organizing networks, building further on the ideas of mutual aid and solidarity.

Mutual aid emerged within urban park Occupy campsites, in eviction defense actions, factories and street protests across the country.



Scott Crow has spent his varied life as an underground musician, co-op business owner, dad, political organizer, FBI target, green collar worker, writer and speaker. He is the author of *Black Flags and Windmills: Hope, Anarchy and the Common Ground Collective*, published by PM Press, about large scale anarchist organizing after Hurricane Katrina. He can be found online at scottcrow.org

Occupy Sandy

Human induced climate change continues to make erratic weather patterns the new normal. Hurricane Sandy, a super storm, struck the US East Coast in October 2012 with devastating effect in numerous states. Much like Katrina, once the storm passed, the government and Red Cross response was abysmal in more marginalized communities.

The momentum from people within the Occupy movement founded the decentralized effort of Occupy Sandy rooted in the models of Common Ground and other radical movements, as embodied in the slogan, "Mutual Aid Not Charity."

Volunteers became first responders where government agencies failed to go, and went to ignored communities, helping to set up programs and projects or supporting ongoing efforts. After the immediate crisis abated, many within Occupy Sandy continue to support communities in their rebuilding efforts for self determination.

Disaster and Crisis Responses as a Conscious Path Forward

The ideas and practices of mutual aid are alive and well in the 21st century. Our capacity to put our emergency hearts into action, together, will continue to propel us forward at mass mobilizations, in parking lots, within prisons, in community centers and disasters. Humans are wired for it and it's critical to maintain in our atomized and often destructive society. Disasters especially will be at the forefront in some communities; being able to respond with mutual aid is central when they strike.

For instance, in May, 2013, a massive tornado devastated parts of Oklahoma—more of the new normal created by the rapidly changing climate. People from the Occupy movements and ex-Common Grounders, anarchists and other radicals, once again set up decentralized mutual aid support for immediate relief and longer term rebuilding. (See sidebar.)

These spontaneous outpourings now have connected networks to rely on quick responses; histories to build from and people who bring experience in dealing with crises and power sharing skills.

For those of us engaged in anarchist organizing, the long histories of mutual aid and solidarity around disasters should consciously be added to how we view collective liberation. Sadly, these disasters glaringly and painfully reveal the state's failures and often affect communities more than any single issue.

But, they also open a crack for people to see themselves and their own power by rebuilding small pieces of their communities differently than before

through mutual aid. In direct and meaningful ways, people learn that they do not have to wait on those in power to make their lives better.

They begin to realize that they *can* do it for themselves, with support; even in the worst times. These concepts, which are as old as life on this planet—that anarchists politically name as mutual aid—will continue to be needed for the survival and health of all of us in our day-to-day lives as we face uncertain futures; whether it's disasters, crises, or just living. **FE**

Mutual Aid in Action in Oklahoma Tornado: Solidarity Is Our Strength

DR. ZAKK FLASH

The 2013 Moore tornado was an EF5 velocity storm that struck Moore, Oklahoma, and adjacent areas on the afternoon of May 20, 2013, with peak winds estimated at 210 miles per hour, killing 23 people and injuring 377 others.

At the beginning of June, when I arrived in Little Axe, Okla. to take a look at post-tornado recovery efforts, the countryside was still in crisis mode. Mountains of rubble and garbage filled gravel roads and red dirt paths leading to the remains of homes. Neighborhoods that had been full of working-class houses were uprooted and dirty, unsafe tent camps were all that remained.

Just 30 minutes away, the big non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) operated, bringing national attention to Moore—a badly struck area, to be sure. But not the only one affected.

In Little Axe, Newalla, Carney, Luther, Shawnee, and other areas, humanitarian workers at the local nonprofits complained how little had been done, despite the hundreds of millions that the Red Cross said had been donated. It was only later that everyone's thoughts were confirmed—money sent to the big players was ending up in Washington, D.C.

Certainly some of it would be spent on affected people here, but the vast majority would be sent to other areas or spent on overhead, administration costs. At last count, the Red Cross was still sitting on \$110 million allocated for Superstorm Sandy. While the NGOs have done some fantastic work here, our communities know their own needs best. There had to be a better way.

OpOK Relief stepped in to fill the gaps as part of the People's Response. As a convergence of Occupy groups, anarchists,

libertarian socialists, Food Not Bombs folks, Rainbow Family, IWW organizers, teachers, social workers, and non-hierarchical, non-bureaucratic relief groups from out of state, our focus was on direct action. Local and international initiatives came together to address community specific needs. We assessed damage on the ground, got people into emergency housing, helped them secure their homes, and provide connections for outside volunteers to plug into affected communities, prioritizing the most impoverished and overlooked.

The response to our work was overwhelming; we got supplies and volunteers into areas that had either been underserved or neglected altogether by the major NGOs. Horizontal organizing, based on people's needs on the ground, made it possible.

Allowing residents and victims to shape the services they receive was an essential part of our disaster relief efforts. Find local organizers and community leaders on the ground in these locations, ask what they need, crowdsource and share information, and see what you can do to meet these needs.

Cooperative decision-making, participatory democracy, and mutual aid are tenants of anarchist society. OpOK Relief wasn't an anarchist group, but anarchism motivated my work within it. Anarchism is a movement for a society in which the violence of racism, sexism, homophobia, capitalism, and coercion are removed from our daily lives. Anarchism is the belief in a world without war and economic poverty. Anarchism is a philosophy and movement working to build cooperative, egalitarian human relationships and social structures that promote mutual aid, radical democratic control of political and economic decisions, and ecological sustainability.

I believe that our work here today can create the kind of world that I carry in my heart. I believe that this work brings the best out of everyone involved, from the people on the ground to the people directly impacted by these storms. I believe that everyone has a part to play here, that anyone is capable of making a difference in these struggling areas.

I believe in solidarity. I believe in mutual aid. I believe in you.

Solidarity is our strength.

Dr. Flash lives in Norman, Oklahoma, five miles from the epicenter of the main storm damage. OpOK Relief can be contacted via Facebook at facebook.com/OpOKRelief or on the web at opokrelief.net.

Dr. Flash with part of the crew that stepped in where the Red Cross failed in the aftermath of the Moore tornado.



Against the Poverty of Language and Thought

16 Theses on the Cell Phone

JASON RODGERS

1. Cell phones are an overpowering, ever present factor in society. A factor which has multiplied at a staggering rate.

2. They help to deal with the fear of the unknown. It is imagined that they provide for the protection of children, assuring that the child will never be stranded or outside of the watchful parental gaze. If a car breaks down, one no longer needs to risk getting a ride from a stranger—a risk which is primarily having to confront the overwhelming alienation of our community.

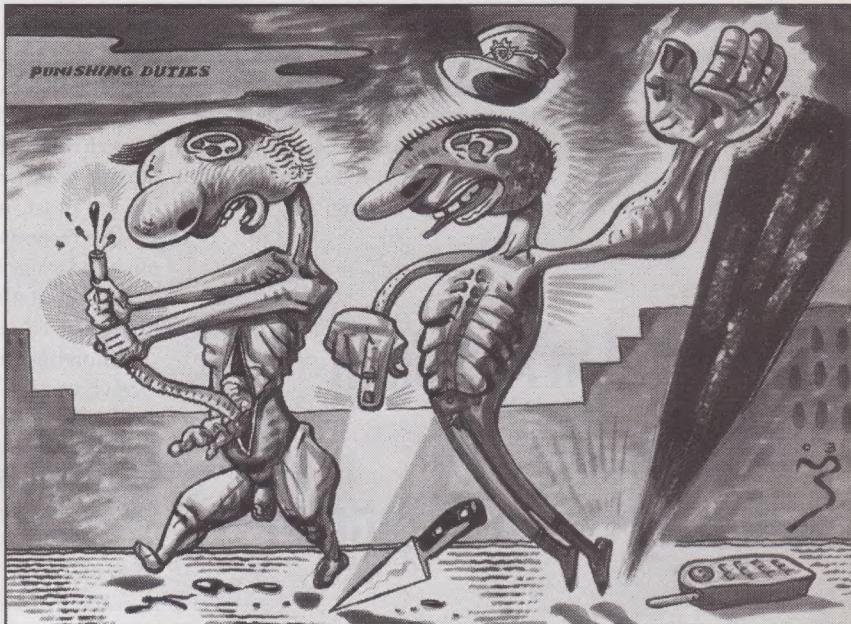
3. The cell phone allows the user to avoid the risk of missing the updates they are constantly bombarded with. It is simpler and more convenient than having to risk making mundane choices yourself. The user is never difficult to contact about anything, no matter how banal.

4. The cell phone fulfills the need to be hip and current. Those without mobile communications devices are constructed as being outdated, in the cultural lag, backwards. By owning a cell phone one can feel progressive and up to date.

5. The underlying motivations for cell phone ownership are fear and convenience. Ultimately fear avoidance and convenience are the same thing— the avoidance of ambiguous situations.

6. It is no extreme statement to say that capitalism creates false needs. Fifteen years ago cell phones were a rarity, certainly no necessity. How did we live before? They are now a need. We need it like a fix of cellular smack.

"Punishing Duties" —Maurice Spira



7. The cell sell is the easiest imaginable; the consumer does it themselves. After the initial convincing, the consumer signs a contract, which they suffer monetary penalties for breaking. Once trapped, the job of persuasion is internalized by the consumer, so as to not face their contractual trap.

8. It is now standard at many jobs, even low paying ones, to expect ownership of a mobile phone. Employers can constantly contact employees. Labor engulfs everyday life.

9. Due to the addition of text messaging the cellular communication is trapped between orality and literacy. It has neither the improvisation and open ended nature of spoken language, nor the complexity and depth of written language.

10. This contributes to a poverty of language. The exchange is constant, yet nearly meaningless. This poverty of language contributes to a poverty of thought.

11. The 911 system, required by law to be included on all cell phones, allows the location of any cell phone to be triangulated, via GPS, within a few yards. The communication device becomes a tracking device. The cell is a cell.

12. Paranoid? Maybe. After all, they can't be tracking everybody all the time; there are just too many people. Precisely the point. The 911 system fulfills the concept of the Panopticon analyzed by Michel Foucault. We know they can't be paying attention to everyone at every given moment. At the same time we know that they have the capability for surveillance on anyone at any given time.

13. This position causes the internalization of the control of surveillance. The oppressor is no longer a clear external force, it is now a formless totality which impersonally constrain us. This formlessness makes it difficult to remain autonomous against it; it can not be pinned down. Furthermore, the user knows that they consented.

>>>

14. Cellular technology is transforming man into a cyborg. The technology grows more ever present. The user becomes more and more integrated into the totality. McLuhan argued that the integrated circuit and the television were extensions of the nervous system. He seems to have been premature. The cell phone is closer to the realization of this extension of the neurological system. Remember, McLuhan's often forgotten companion point, every extension is also an amputation.

15. The cell phone is becoming a permanent extension. It is responded to nearly automatically. This interaction forms a feedback system; a cybernetic system. What thoughts are ours, in this cybernetic system? This cybernetic transformation is particularly noticeable in the case of ear pieces and other hands free devices.

16. The question this brings up is not one of right and wrong. It is a matter of admitting that these devices cause major shifts and determining if these shifts are what we actually want. It has been pointed out to me that the picture I present may even be too optimistic.

As for my participation in these shifts, I refuse and resist.

Jason Rodgers publishes *Media Junky* and *Psionic Plastic Joy* from PO Box 138, Wilton NH 03086

GOING TO AN ANARCHIST BOOK FAIR

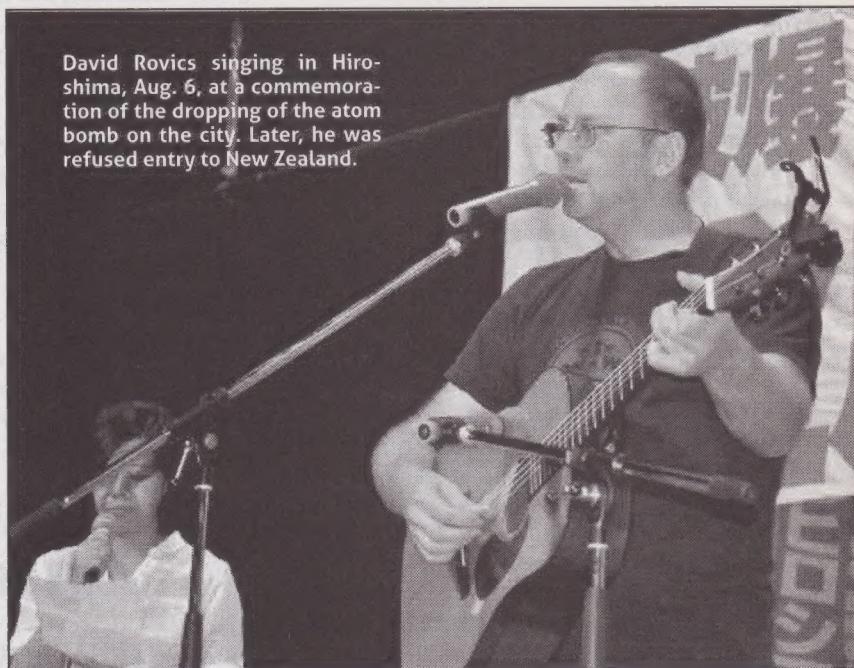
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Email fe@fithestate.org

David Rovics singing in Hiroshima, Aug. 6, at a commemoration of the dropping of the atom bomb on the city. Later, he was refused entry to New Zealand.



"You are not welcome in New Zealand. Mr. Rovics." Or, the 207th reason why to hate all nation states

DAVID ROVICS

It was mid-August, and after singing at various events, mainly ones commemorating the bombing of Hiroshima, I was supposed to be switching planes, en route from Fukuoka to Christchurch, New Zealand, via Tokyo and Auckland.

When I got paged over the intercom to the All Nippon Airways desk I was nervous, but figured it was something about a seat assignment on the flight from Narita to Auckland that I was about to board. When the woman from ANA handed me a cell phone and said that someone from New Zealand Immigration in Auckland wanted to talk to me, I was suddenly feeling fatalistic.

"Mr. Rovics, why are you coming to New Zealand?"

The immigration agent sounded like a miserable person who liked her job way too much. It was obvious why she wanted to know – because she already knew I was coming to play a few small gigs, and it wouldn't do for me to say I was just going to enjoy the winter weather, though in fact that was one of the main things I was looking forward to.

"I'm playing six small gigs."

She already knew this, but she wanted to hear it from me. I learned from my problems entering Canada that lying is the thing they dislike the most.

"Will you be paid anything for these engagements?"

"Yes, I hope to make a little money while in New Zealand, though it's all very marginal," I replied.

Which sure is the truth. Nobody tours New Zealand to make money, as far as I know. The people there who make the laws issuing work permits seem to know this – a work permit for New Zealand is free. The only charge involved is the permission you need to get from the musician's union. Which, last time I got

one, was also free. They waived it since they heard I was singing at a labor rally in Dunedin.

“Do you have a work permit?”

She obviously also knew the answer to this question – she’s an immigration agent, for Pete’s sake.

“No,” I replied, “I was hoping I could get one when I arrived. I was under the impression it was a formality that could easily be taken care of when I got there.”

Which is true. Although I sure was wishing I had taken care of this formality a long time before. Which is what I had done before my three previous tours of Aotearoa, aka New Zealand. The problem is, unless you live near a city with a New Zealand consulate in it, which I don’t, you have to mail your passport in to their embassy in Washington, DC, and be without a passport for several weeks, which is a logistical challenge for someone who tours as much as me. One I vainly hoped I could avoid, and one I’ve managed to avoid in Australia, where I have successfully gotten work visas after arriving on Australian soil twice before.

“Mr. Rovics, can you tell me what happened to you recently at the airport in Trondheim, Norway?”

I wanted to tell her to get to the point, but I knew that I had to answer all of her questions if I wanted to have any chance of getting in to her lovely, stolen country of rolling hills, sheep, and imprisoned native people.

“I was strip-searched on suspicion of drug smuggling. But I wasn’t smuggling drugs.”

Although most of my blog posts are only read by a few hundred people, some of them are apparently working for the government of New Zealand.

“What happened to you in Canada?”

I told her what she already knew. I was banned from Canada for a year, because I tried to get in as a tourist when really I was planning to do a gig at the Railway Club in Vancouver, for which I hadn’t gotten a work permit. I lied to Immigration Canada about it. I knew better than to do that this time, but it didn’t help.

Then the shoe finally dropped.

“You can’t board that flight tonight, and you can’t come to New Zealand until you get a work permit.”

“Can I cancel all my gigs and come in on a tourist visa? If I don’t fly to Auckland then I can’t fly from there to Perth, or from Brisbane to Hong Kong, etc.”

It was a bit of a cascading, chain reaction clusterfuck sort of situation. Buying a new plane ticket to anywhere I need to go will likely cost thousands of dollars.

“You can’t board that flight. You’re not welcome in New Zealand.”

“I know it’s none of my business,” I said, “but is it normal for immigration agents to read the blogs of people traveling to New Zealand?”

“I’ve read your blog,” was her answer to that question.

“Did someone tell you about my blog? Is there a reason you read my blog in particular?”

“I’ve read your blog,” she repeated. “Thank you,” she said,

indicating she was done talking to me, and I handed the phone back to the ANA agent.

After the ANA agent got off the phone, she and all the rest of them looked shocked. Nothing like this had ever happened to them.

There was a hotel room available around the corner from the airport. Work visa lined up for Australia, so at least that leg of the tour is happening. (Just did the first of 13 gigs I’m doing throughout Australia.) Next time I’ll try to be more cognizant of the fact that the spies are reading my blog, and get a damn work visa.

David Rovics is a singer/songwriter based in Portland, Oregon. He is currently on a tour of 12 countries on four continents. His website is davidrovics.com. His recent songs are posted there.

We Will Not Be Broken: Jerry Koch, Grand Jury Resister.

MARGARET KILLJOY

We packed the courtroom to overflowing, some of our number forced to wait nervously in the hall outside. Jerry Koch, a New York City anarchist and legal activist, stood calmly and silently as his lawyer went through the motions of arguing against his incarceration and the judge yelled at her.

Eventually, the bailiffs took Jerry out the side of the courtroom and escorted him to jail. That was almost four months ago.

Jerry is in jail, being held indefinitely, without being accused or convicted of a crime. He was called to testify before a federal grand jury investigating anarchists in New York City, and has refused to provide them with any information.

The judge found him in civil contempt of court, which is not a crime—just something that lets the government lock up whomever it pleases. The judge stated several times that this is a “special” grand jury, which denotes a class of grand juries designed to investigate organized crime.

The idea is to scare Jerry into testifying. Since he hasn’t been charged with a crime, it’s illegal for the government to punish Jerry, but they are perfectly within the laws they wrote to coerce him. They think, falsely, that he can be scared into testifying against his comrades by putting him behind bars. They are allowed to hold him for the length of the grand jury, which may be up to 18 months, or, with extensions, three years.

This is the second time Jerry has been subpoenaed to testify in front of a federal grand jury in New York City. The first time, in 2009, a grand jury was investigating the connection of anarchists to a bombing of a Times Square military recruitment center the year before.

Jerry, who has no knowledge of the incident, refused to co-



Jerry Koch
is resisting
a New York
grand jury
investigating
anarchists.

Continued from Preceding Page

operate and was released. Now, four years later, they have called him again to testify, apparently in relation to the same event, and he sits in jail.

The federal grand jury system is one that is designed to investigate felonies and dole out indictments by enabling a snitch culture—no information about grand juries is made public by the courts, and the only reason we know whom the government has indicted is if those who are called to testify make that information public. But for as long as grand juries have been used to repress political radicals, we've been refusing to cooperate, hindering their ability to repress us further.

In grand jury cases, the same as any police or FBI encounter, the safest course of action for everyone is to refuse to cooperate. Providing false information to a grand jury is perjury and can land you in prison for an extended period of time. Providing factual information facilitates the government's system of investigation and incarceration, potentially landing you or others in prison. There is no way of knowing what information is significant to the federal prosecutor running the grand jury, and it's best to simply refuse to cooperate across the board.

He's in jail for us and can use all the support we can give. For Jerry in particular, it's letters that get him through the day. His support network has set up a forwarding email address: if you email writejerry@jerryresists.net, they will print out your letter and mail it to him.

Jerry's support web site is jerryresists.net. For more information on grand juries, a FAQ and case summaries are available from anarchistwitchhunt.org.

You can mail Jerry directly at:

Gerald Koch #68631-054
Metropolitan Correctional Center
150 Park Row
New York, NY 10007

Policing the Crisis in Pittsburgh and Boston

Shutdown

SAINT JUST

I have had the unfortunate privilege of experiencing two urban shutdowns in the U.S. In 2009, while living in a quickly gentrifying neighborhood adjacent to the University of Pittsburgh as a graduate student, I experienced a preemptive shutdown of a major city during the G-20 summit meeting of the finance ministers of the top world economies.

I witnessed the first domestic use of a Long Range Acoustic Device (or LRAD), the smell of tear gas wafting into my apartment, and the aftermath of my dumbfounded undergraduate students, ostensibly apolitical, recently gassed and rubber-bulletted, wonder how their adopted city and university officials could collude so callously at their expense.

Less than four years later, now living on the gentrifying border between Roxbury and Jamaica Plain in Boston as a post-doctorate student, I heard

police and fire sirens topple out of the tight, winding streets of the Hub during and after the April 15 Boston Marathon bombing, received the email, text-message, television, and radio suggestions (orders?) to "shelter in place," and during the aftermath listened to liberal public and conservative talk radio hosts out-do themselves in



Boston militarized police in full battle gear search for the remaining Boston Marathon bomber with the city on complete lockdown in April.

pride of how my recently adopted city had come together to get the bad guy and be, "Boston Strong."

Outside of professional hockey and football news, Boston and Pittsburgh are not generally compared or contrasted, and they were not in the days following the marathon bombing this spring. Why would they?

During the G-20, Pittsburgh did not suffer a terrorist attack and during the marathon attack and ensuing search, Boston-area residents were not singled-out by law-enforcement because they marched in protests.

But as my experiences glanced off listening to the facts on the evening news about a locked-down city, a resonant chill continued to drift through my ears and eyes. Perhaps Pittsburgh and Boston, both now firmly on the gentrifying side of their 1990s urban renaissances, both invested deeply in meds and eds as well as security and neurotechnology, were not so different in their reactions and responses to policing a crisis.

The assemblage of forces, reactions, and repercussions that accompanied both events are striking. In both cases, major US cities were brought to a standstill, not by terrorists, but by the reaction of local officials, heavily armed

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Italian solidarity activists join Palestinians in a weekly nonviolent demonstration against the separation barrier that would cut off the Occupied West Bank village of Al Ma'sara from its agricultural lands.

An Anarchist in Palestine Militarism and Madness

TAYLOR WEECH

Growing up in the post-9/11 U.S., I've experienced the psychological discord of this culture and witnessed the expansion of its violent global footprint. This June, I traveled to Israel for two weeks with Interfaith Peace-Builders hoping to broaden my understanding of conflict and nationalism.

Albert Einstein, who once declined the Israeli presidency, said that "nationalism is an infantile disease" and after this journey, I would propose that madness is its root and its defining symptom. Various state agencies inflict madness on the Israeli and Palestinian populations. Their tactics are many. Every state inflicts some level of coercion and violence upon its population, but I know no state as brazen with its power as Israel, other than perhaps the U.S.

Why do societies choose this path? Why is the madness of conforming to the pathology of nationalism more appealing than psychological, emotional, and physical freedom? These questions were on my mind while traveling on a packed two-week itinerary that took me and my fellow travelers from Tel Aviv to East Jerusalem, Ramallah, Ashdod, Nazareth, Bil'in, Bethlehem, Hebron, and the Jordan Valley.

Our group met daily with U.N. officials, legal and human rights organizations, peace groups, and individuals in Israel and the West Bank. At each meeting, another element of the U.S. narrative was deconstructed and amended to match reality on the ground. Those of us who have studied the conflict

Not a single Israeli, Palestinian, or international group we met mentioned a "two-state solution" as a desired possibility.

in depth, and those jaded by mainstream perceptions were less surprised than those who came with a strong Zionist and/or nationalist narrative in their upbringing. For them, the journey was highly disorienting and emotionally chaotic.

This region's public dialogue about statehood and systemic change achieves a level of intensity and nuance far beyond the conversation at home. For instance, in the U.S., intermittent updates on the peace process often center on the idea of a "two-state solution."

Not a single Israeli, Palestinian, or international group we met with mentioned the notion as a desired possibility. In reality, there is no contiguous land for a Palestinian state. On honest maps, the West Bank looks like an archipelago suspended in an ocean of Israel that extends to mix with the Jordan River in the east. The Gaza Strip completes the chain of islands with a gate to Egypt in the south and coastline extending three miles into the Mediterranean Sea.

It shouldn't be surprising that the U.S. narrative disregards reality; the media here generally restricts content, and lowers the level of analysis to as simple a story as possible. Only the more extreme right-wing elements of Israeli politics are allied with the U.S. in clinging to the idea of two states, while their ethnic cleansing plan aims to eliminate the demand for a Palestinian nation altogether.

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An Anarchist in North Korea The Opposite of Freedom: A Journey to Pyongyang

PIERRE GARINE

The Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK)—North Korea. The very mention of the country's name and a blizzard of buzzwords are released: Cult of Personality, Mass starvation, Nuclear-armed, Thought Control, Defectors and Reverse-defectors.

A land completely closed to the outside world? Since the 1960s, a small but steady stream of foreign delegations, diplomats, NGO representatives, and regular tourists have been permitted to visit North Korea, albeit under tightly controlled conditions with official minders watching every move and word.

So, the door is open, and the opportunity presented itself to me (a China-based expatriate) – a four day trip to Pyongyang with a Chinese tour group a few months after the snowy funeral of Dear Leader Kim Jong Il.

But as an anarchist, why visit this graveyard of freedom? What good would come of such a journey? These pointed fingers jabbed me as my plane set down in Dandong, the Manchurian border gateway city on the Yalu River.

The internet-savvy North Korean authorities Google your name to check that you are not a journalist and if it is your first visit, they green light you.

North Korean tourism has its detractors and defenders, and it is safe to call it a moral grey area. I wrestled with my reasons for visiting.

No visa application, just a scan of your passport and a photo.

Chinese pay a low price for the package, EU citizens or Hong Kong, Macau or Taiwan Chinese double that and Americans are admitted at a 200 percent, markup, but are denied access to the local train ride from the border to Pyongyang and must fly in from Shenyang on Air Koryo, the North's rickety but functioning airline. My EU passport was a boon in this regard.

An evening walk in Dandong revealed much. On the Chinese side of the river stood towering high-rise luxury apartments, nearby, glaring multi-colored neon displays touting restaurants, Korean-style bathhouses, and hotels. Souvenir shops selling a full

line of Korean goods stood alongside Pyongyang-style restaurants staffed with costumed waitresses from the North trying to pull in customers from the sidewalk.

A Christian café provided a base for the bible thumpers reaching out to desperate defectors. Chinese-owned shops hawked second-hand hardware, tools, and generators to the fortunate

Northern shoppers holding Chinese currency.

I was reminded of an American or Mexican border town, like El Paso or Juarez. A half-bridge from the Chinese-side (the other half bombed into rubble with precision by the US Air Force early in the Korean War in 1950) was lit up with neon next to the new working road and rail bridge linking China's Dandong with the North Korean city of Sinuiju.

Across the deep river, on the North Korean side, not a single light could be seen. Not a candle, not a cigarette, nothing, only the dim outline of two factory smokestacks and that of a long-halted Ferris wheel at a riverside amusement park.

A Chinese tour member and I looked across silently, then we made our way to one of the North Korean restaurants on the Chinese side which stayed open all night. The gruff middle-aged female manager holding court at a table with a group of chain smoking border traders swiftly summoned a waitress to take our order as a TV pulled in a grainy official broadcast of the Pyongyang Channel 1 where we could just make out the boy-emperor, Kim Jong Un, engaging in field inspection of some facility. Tomorrow, our bus with a Chinese tour group would cross the Yalu for our four days and three nights in the Paradise for People.

North Korean tourism has its detractors and de-

fenders, and it is safe to call it a moral grey area. As I wrestled with my reasons for visiting, my Chinese companion's motive was pure curiosity.

The Chinese people seemed to look at their North Korean brothers in the way a parent might regard their autistic child. The Mao Revolution had inspired Kim Il Sung and his Korean Workers' Party (KWP) to build a copycat state in the North in 1948, complete with little books of the Supreme Leader's *Juche* (Self-Sufficiency) philosophy for the people to quote from and wave.

I decided to go, because it was possible. Because maybe I could, against all odds, make contact with someone on the other side and let them know there is an alternative, there is a hope of regaining their freedom, real freedom, not just the right to buy a Big Mac.

I had a few pieces of subversive media I wanted to give away, but I knew that to be caught with something could bring heavy charges for a North Korean. I knew my presence would probably be used by the state and that my minders would be in charge every minute of my visit. Nevertheless, I bought my ticket and took my chance.

The 1960s era Soviet-built train lurched and shook its way across a thawing landscape of fallow farmland, past desolate, barren hillsides and thatched-roofed villages where everyone walked.. Not a single bicycle or motorcycle could be seen, it was all foot traffic with the occasional ox-cart. The land looked as if some cosmic hand had gone over it systematically with a blowtorch and a sandblaster.

At the border, there had been second thoughts before the bus, poised at the Yalu bridge, received a green light and the barrier lifted. The customs shed held a moment of drama as a special comrade was called in by the uniformed inspectors to have a close look at my laptop which the tour office had strongly recommended I leave behind.

While waiting, I couldn't help but notice one of the guards tapping away on an obviously confiscated Apple 4, but the plainclothes tech gave my deck a quick check and waved me through. I learned later he was looking for Google Maps or a smart app that would give precise coordinates for the military targeting of installations.

Our group had two Korean guides; a Chinese speaking one for the thirty mainland and Hong Kong tourists and an English one for me. Mr. Park was an alert mid-thirties loyalist who would recite the approved line and verse guidance for me but at times would reveal bits about himself.

He had lived in the West as his parents had been North Korean diplomats to some U.N. Agency in

North America. He wore the required Kim Jong Il lapel pin and referred to the new successor Kim as, "my General." He steered my questions about North Korean life back at me and regarded my EU passport listing a US birthplace with slight suspicion. Later, he correctly outed me as being an American, at least culturally. He spent much of the trip ignoring me, chatting instead with the female Chinese-speaking guide.

Anarchists in Korea?

Anarchist thought and direct action were a potent third force in the Korean resistance to the Japanese occupation of 1894-1945. Since 2000, South Korean government records and school textbooks now honor the lives of four anarchist independence fighters: Shin Chae-ho (1880-1936), Yu Rim (1894-1961), Park Ryol (1902-1972) and Yu Cha-myong (1891-1985).

Another prominent anarchist Kim Jwa-Win, together with independence activists and local peasants, set up a short-lived anarcho-communist zone in ethnic-Korean Manchuria in 1929 known as the autonomous Shinmin region.

Park Ryol was arrested in 1923 with his Japanese lover, Fumiko Kaneko, and sentenced to life imprisonment on the charge of planning to assassinate (then) Crown Prince Hirohito. Released from a Japanese prison in 1945, he returned to North Korea. Differing accounts claim he was forced back against his will; another states he joined the ruling KWP and served as government official until his death in 1974.

Other anarchists in Korea were exposed, harassed, and imprisoned by the two new states set up in the North and South between 1945 and 1950. Then, the Korean War of 1950-53 scorched the land, killing an estimated four million civilians.

Maybe I could make contact with someone on the other side and let them know there is a hope of real freedom, not just the right to buy a Big Mac.

Our guides ran us through a daily pattern very much designed to keep us moving. After breakfast in the Yanggakdo Hotel (located strategically on an island in the Taedong River and from which we were not allowed to leave at night), we were put on our bus and driven two hours to a distant attraction such as the demilitarized zone border with South Korea, then lunch on the road, then afternoon visits to the monumental landmarks of Pyongyang.

These included an Arch of Triumph slightly larger than the one in Paris, a massive three armed glory monument to the KWP with hands holding a sickle, a hammer, and a calligraphy brush into the sky, and the restored birthplace and childhood home of Kim Il Sung, done up in the style of Stalin.

Then, dinner in another special restaurant for foreign guests (one with singing and dancing wait-

resses) before we were released to amuse ourselves at our guarded hotel in the evening.

The guides' decisions as to which Pyongyang sites we were permitted to see seemed to depend on the availability of electrical power. In one restaurant, we were led down pitch black hallways, asked to wait while the door was unlocked, and then a few more seconds until the light switch was found and the overhead bulbs flickered into life, revealing an already set table with cold kimchi and Korean starters.

Official access to food, education, rank, and privilege in the North is based on class background and loyalty to the Kim cult.

In 1957, following a post-Korean War census, Supreme Leader Kim Il Sung proclaimed a permanent class system (known as *Songbyun* or Constituent Origin) which divided all of North Korean society into three groups: a loyal core class' (25 percent) of party cadres , a wavering class (55 percent) of average working North Koreans, and a hostile class (20 percent) of former landowners, Christians, or those accused of collaboration with the Japanese or South Korean authorities.

Labels go back three generations and children can grow up without knowing their *Songbyun*.

Author Barbara Demick, in her excellent 2009 book on daily life in North Korea, *Nothing to Envy*, describes *Songbyun* as an updated caste system combining elements of both traditional Confucianism and 20th century Stalinism. Grandchildren of the hostile classes are said to have tainted blood, like the Indian Dalits or Untouchables.

During the famine of the early 1990s, brought on by the end of cheap fuel and bartered goods from the Chinese and the former Soviet bloc, *Songbyun* decided who lived and who starved.

Today, while the North triumphantly announces its latest satellite launch or nuclear weapons test, malnutrition continues in the rural areas with western NGOs issuing occasional reports of starving people desperately gathering wild roots, tree bark, and grasses to make bread or soup. An entire generation of rural children has grown up short, weak, and stunted. One recent party slogan exhorted the population – "Let's all eat two meals a day!"

While the privileged residents of Pyongyang seemed better fed, many could be seen walking the streets with empty carts and shopping baskets, searching for extra protein or rations. Meanwhile, the Kim dynasty smuggles in food, imported alcohol, and luxuries for itself, the Army officer corps, and the party loyalists. The cynical triage of *Songbyun* writes off nearly half of the population, who must fend for themselves to get enough to eat.

Official access to food, education, rank, and privilege in the North is based on class background and loyalty to the Kim cult.

While I made sure my conduct did not attract the suspicion of my guide, some of the Chinese in our group had more courage and attempted spontaneous acts of charity.

At one rural museum a regular road passed in front and one tour member attempted to give away boxes of colored pencils to grade-school aged children walking by. They ran away in fright and he earned himself a tongue lashing from the Chinese-speaking guide. "No North Koreans will accept such gifts from a stranger, they are provided with everything they need!"

In August of this year, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) held public hearings in Seoul in the Republic of [South] Korea to investigate the whole spectrum of the crimes against humanity carried out by North Korea. The very few survivors and escapees from the North's Gulag Archipelago of forced labor and punishment camps gave their testimony to an international body for the first time.

Shin Dong-Hyuk was born in one such camp in 1982 and only escaped in 2005. His story is the subject of a 2003 book by David Hawk, *The Hidden Gulag: Exposing North Korea's Prison Camps* and a new animated documentary by German director Mark Weise, "Camp 14 - Total Control Zone."

At age 14, Shin heard his mother and brother discussing an escape and, in an attempt to gain better treatment, he informed on them. For his trouble, he was tortured and then, with his father, forced to watch, along with the rest of the camp inmates, as guards shot his brother and hung his mother. The powerful

documentary also includes accounts from a camp guard commander and a former secret police member who also defected to the South, strengthening

the accuracy of Shin's account of camp life.

Any number of crimes from illegally crossing the border with China, smuggling food, DVDs, or banned literature, to overheard complaints or listening to or watching foreign broadcasts can earn one a possibly one-way trip to the camps. There, prisoners live in a vacuum, without the hope that anyone even knows of their fate. Conditions are, in the words of one survivor, worse than the Nazi extermination camps in that at least those WWII era inmates knew



A North Korean rally to worship the leader, Kim Jong Un, transforms humans into an ant hill of submission.

the Allies were waging war non-stop against the Germans and that liberation was a possibility. Certainly, some of these inmates, labeled as enemies of the state, must be our comrades in spirit.

At our hotel in Pyongyang, in its cavernous basement network of halls and shops, there is an entertainment facility open to the local elites. It includes restaurants, a bowling alley, karaoke, bars, and a swimming pool/sauna complex. For foreigners with hard currency, there was even a Macau Chinese-run casino.

Residence in the capital is a privilege and to ensure loyalty, access to food and such entertainments are rewards from the Red Emperors.

Later, I met some Russian diplomats in the three-lane bowling alley and we talked about the new boy-ruler. "His Western education means little," said one to me between rolling strikes. "He has a role to play, and that is upholding the system created by his grandfather. There will be minor reforms and some peace offerings to the South, but that will be all."

At one point, our group was waiting at a special entrance to the railway station and as we stood in front of a small group of North Koreans who regarded us in silence. I smiled at one middle-aged man and, in a deliberate voice, spoke two words to him in English, "Good luck." He smiled back and repeated my greeting, but by then the door opened and we were hustled into our special waiting room.

The North Korean economy today survives mainly on barter exports of minerals and rare earth metals with the Chinese, thus, maintaining a lifeline through the long list of U.N. and Western-issued sanctions. China, having fought for the North in 1950-53, looks the other way at the border as these sanctions are breached. After the North's latest rocket/satellite test, in a rare rebuke, China temporarily shut down the operations of North Korea's largest bank in Beijing, their only clearing house for finance and trade.

For their part, the Chinese have repeatedly invited North Korean leaders and officials to visit and see for themselves the results of China's free-market, state-managed, economic reforms, advising their comrades that they could create more wealth for the elites and food for their people while maintaining single party control. Except for a few reforms like tolerated trader markets (called *jangmadang*), the North has maintained its system of state control under the moribund self-sufficiency philosophy of *Juche*. In the border regions near China, technically cross-border trade by individual North Koreans, both permitted and illicit, has also brought in DVDs of Chinese, South Korean, and Western movies and TV serials as well as Chinese cell phones capable of international dialing.

At the very least, the state's iron lock on the minds of its population has at last been broken.

On day two of the tour, our bus took us north into the mountains to a resort town and it was there we were shown the crown jewels of the regime. Past guards with silver-plated AK-47s, we were ushered into two separate treasure palaces, built deep into the mountain side, with museum hall after hall displaying every single gift ever brought by a visiting world leader or delegation to bestow upon Supreme Leader Kim Il Sung and Dear Leader Kim Jong Il.

Isaw a gold-plated scimitar from Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, a pearl inlaid desk from Hafez al-Assad of Syria, an ornate carpet from the last communist president of Afghanistan, a bullet-proof limousine from Stalin and hall after hall of thousands of smaller offerings of tribute—paper weights, portraits, stuffed animals, carvings and books, never to be read. Here, North Koreans are shown how the whole world respects their country and honors its leaders.

I knew that this is how our presence as tourists was explained to the average person in North Korea. I knew I made myself a willing pawn through my curiosity to see all this and it gritted my teeth to even think about it.

In a final hall there was a display of "A"-class gifts, including a gift of a Michael Jordan autographed NBA basketball sent by President Bill Clinton in 2000, and delivered by Secretary of State Madeline Albright. As I stared at it in amazement, I noticed the two guides arranging our tour into two lines by height in front of the last door. I was assigned a place and we were told to reform the lines once inside the next hall.

We walked in and at the end of this hall, behind a low barrier, was an open diorama, the kind one might see in a natural history museum, with a sunny illuminated outdoor background, and there, in the center was a life-size mannequin of Supreme Leader Kim Il Sung, beaming a waxy smile to us.

Silently, following the guides' hand signals' we reassembled our lines. I knew that the North Koreans still considered Kim Il Sung their living President, even though he was 18 years dead. I also knew what was coming next, and I had only had a split second to decide.

Following the guides' example, both lines of our tour group made a formal bow to the dead wax dummy of the Supreme Leader, holding it for at least a minute. Mr. Park looked sideways at me directly. My mind in rebellion, I slowly allowed my head to nod forward in the slightest of bows.

Then, shuffling in our clean room cloth overshoes,

we made our way out. I could still feel the false eyes of the Supreme Leader's mannequin burning into my back as I exited. I swore to get back my dignity, somehow, later. The younger version of myself would have shouted something and made a futile gesture then and there. Instead, I would save mine for later.

On our last morning, on the way to the train, we were allowed ten minutes to briefly roam the massive Kim Il Sung Square, the site of the mass million man rallies and military march-bys. A high, temple-like supreme reviewing stand looked down on the empty square. Painted numbers on the cobble stones marked the standing spots for the masses. Then, we were taken to the main Pyongyang train station to catch our rusty train back to the Chinese border.

At a rural station, the main line met a trunk line that pulled off into the bare interior and where there was confusion on the tracks as scores of North Koreans, returning home from a traditional family holiday, were transferring hysterically to and fro. Many, carrying half-full sacks of grain or rice, submitted to spot checks by aggressive, fully armed soldiers. The energy and panic of the people reminded me of earlier scenes of wartime chaos, like Vietnam 1975 or Japan 1945.

Two old women begged our carriage conductors to be allowed to ride without tickets to the next stop but were told no, because there were foreigners aboard. An attempt to photograph the women and give them something brought a quick rebuke from Mr. Park and the cameras were put away. Soldiers ordered the ticketless away and the train pulled out of the station at last.

Underway again, I joined some of the Hong Kong tourists in the dingy club car where a surprised waitress was happy to serve us *soju* liquor and beer for foreign currency. With a phrase book, we tried to invite some soldiers at the next table to join us for a drink, but they smiled and kept their distance. Then, we were alone.

Making our way between the carriages, the Chinese who had tried to give away the colored pencils pointed to a gap in the protective covering between the cars. He tossed his items through them onto the track. I pulled out the items I had hidden until now—a few leaflets from my archives (anarchist, surrealist, subgenius), all in English, some Western DVDs with Korean subtitles such as "Game of Thrones" Season I (I thought any viewer would recognize the cruel young King Geoffrey), and, in a plastic slip, a copy of *Anarchy Comics*.

Someone scavenging for coal would find them and perhaps they could be explained away if they were caught with the contraband. My feeble attempt at propaganda over, I returned to my seat.

At the border post, there was no inspection as the power went out and we had to sit in total darkness for nearly twenty minutes until the light was restored and our documents returned. I bid Mr. Park goodbye and wished him too, good luck.

Back on the Chinese side, I tried to make sense of it all, but I couldn't. At the Dandong Airport, a Western model stared down at me from a massive brand-name advertisement, as if to mock my efforts. I had bowed to a wax idol and had been fed food denied to the common people.

I had been led past the official sites, but I had also snapped forbidden snapshots and dropped a few leaflets behind; a few pin pricks that would quickly heal. I closed my eyes and tried to imagine a day when the long-oppressed people of North Korea might overthrow the dynasty and liberate themselves without any help from the outside.

Then, I would return to the borderlands and with my slight experience, render some assistance to those stumbling out of the nightmare. I vowed never to forget the people I had seen there and I hope you readers will not forget them either.

Pierre Garine is a minor academic who has lived in East Asia for the last 24 years. Based in Shanghai's former French Concession, he is a patient observer of affairs in that megacity. He hopes someday to witness the thaw and break-up of the glacier that is the Chinese one-party state.

Suggested further reading

Nothing to Envy, Barbara Demick – best account in English of the '90s famine with in-depth interviews from defectors from Chongjin, the DPRK's third largest city in the far Northeast.

The Orphan Master's Son, Adam Johnson – a well-researched novel in the spirit of Orwell's 1984.

The Hidden Gulag: Exposing North Korea's Prison Camps, David Hawk – Shin Dong-Hyuk's incredible escape from the North, also the subject of the new animated film "Camp 14 – Total Control Zone."

Koryo Tours koryogroup.com and Young Pioneer Tours youngpioneertrips.com

The Daily NK website provides in depth and balanced coverage of all issues relating to the DPRK at www.dailynk.com

The shrill boastings of the regime can be viewed here kcna.kp and its visuals at youtube.com/user/stimmekoreas

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Columbia University students joining the "Get Cross" campaign, March 2013

"I Got Raped By That Pizza" Language & the Trivialization of Gender-Based Violence

RACHAEL STOEVE

Throughout history, atrocities other than sexual assault have been described as rape. One example of this is the World War II Japanese massacre known as the Rape of Nanking. This serves the rhetorical purpose of bringing home the horrible nature of a crime, since rape itself is so horrifying.

Recently, however, there has been a trend towards trivializing it in common slang, assisted by its use as a descriptive for incidences completely unrelated to sexual assault. This obscures the meaning and nature of rape.

A friend of mine works part-time delivering pizzas. One day, she made a delivery to a military facility. As she was handing off the pizza, one of the soldiers started talking about the pizza he had eaten on a previous day.

"That pizza was so fucking small!" he complained. "I got raped by that pizza!" He laughed at his own statement, while his colleagues nearby said nothing.

The soldier's statement is not an isolated incident. It is emblematic of the way rape and other forms of gender-based violence are trivialized. This trivialization is an essential mechanism of patriarchal culture, in which rape, sexual assault, and other forms of gender-based violence are dismissed and implicitly condoned in order to uphold patriarchy.

However, rape, sexual assault, and other forms of gender-based violence are far from trivial problems. According to a 2003 United Nations Development Fund for Women report, one in three women will be beaten or raped in her lifetime. If women are half the population of the Earth, this means that around one billion women living have experienced this kind of violence.

Were violence against women a disease, one-seventh of the population affected would be considered an epidemic. However, violence against women has historically been under-reported, meaning that in all likelihood, the numbers are even higher than the report suggests.

The prevalence of sexualized violence in our society is reflected in the language we use. When someone is raped, they are sexually violated. They may be drugged or terrorized into acquiescing, or they may feel obligated to have sex they don't want by internal and external forms of pressure and manipulation.

"Stop Rape Now" campaign of the UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict raises awareness and inspires action against rape as a tactic of war. The "Stop Rape Now" campaign brings attention to the alarming stories of thousands of millions of women and children survivors of sexual violence.

"Stop Rape Now" encourages supporters to join its "Get Cross" campaign by taking cross-armed pictures and uploading them on their website at stoprapenow.org.

The violation may come from a stranger, but given that in the West nearly two-thirds of rape and sexual assault are perpetrated by someone the victim knows, it is most likely that the rapist will be a friend, partner, or family member. It may happen as a tactic of war, at a party, or as part of their everyday life in an intimate relationship.

Regardless of the circumstances, sexual violence is never okay, and never the victim's fault. It happens to people of all ages, backgrounds, and gender identities.

The variety of situations in which such violence occurs reveals rape as a mechanism of domination by which the rapist asserts their power.

Though it is popular to assume rape victims are always women, and blame the victim's dress, behavior, or past sexual experience for their violation, the reality is that rapes occur under a variety of circumstances which have nothing to do with the victim and everything to do with upholding patriarchal standards.

The word rape has now been de-contextualized in popular vocabulary to the point that it has become a synonym for anything a speaker dislikes.

That soldier was not raped by his pizza. He disliked the fact that it was small, but his experience was nothing akin to the experience of a rape victim. He certainly knows that, but this linguistic trend has allowed him to distance himself from the deeply patriarchal culture in which he lives.

Worse yet, it has allowed him to turn an incredibly violating experience that affects billions of people around the world into a joke. About his pizza.

After becoming involved in the radical environmental movement, I noticed a lot of people described the destruction of our planet as rape. They are using the word correctly, in the purely definitional sense.

However, it is important to make the actual problems—mountaintop removal, fossil fuels, and deforestation, to name a few—shocking in and of themselves, not because they are associated with sexual assault.

Appropriating rape to describe other

experiences upholds patriarchy, but it also strengthens capitalism and its offspring, industry. All three of these systems of oppression depend on othering in order to maintain power and domination by elite groups of people over the marginalized.

The privileging of men, money, whiteness, urban life, and technology, among other things, is done by various means, but one important way privilege is reinforced is through language.

Patriarchy is built into the structure

of industrial capitalism. It is present in the military, in the radical environmental movement, and in everyday life. It is present in our language.

If we are to begin to fight patriarchy, we must start with language so we can better fight against all systems of dominance and oppression.

One will not end without the end of the others.

Rachael Stoeve is an activist and editorial intern at YES! Magazine. She also writes and edits a news blog, *The Solidarity Report*.

MILITARISM & MADNESS AN ANARCHIST IN PALESTINE

Continued from Page 12

In moderate and liberal Israeli circles, the mainstream Palestinian demand for one state with equal representation has taken root. In more radical circles, cynicism stemming from dissatisfaction with the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli government alike has seeded a different dialogue centered on autonomy and unconvinced that statehood will solve underlying problems.

In the Dheisheh Refugee Camp, near Bethlehem, a young activist named Ibrahim summed up this sentiment, saying, "Some people, they like Palestinian Authority, but for me, no. I don't like authority anymore. Any authority." Ibrahim's grandparents arrived at the temporary camp after their forced displacement by Zionist armies during the 1948 Nakba, meaning catastrophe in Arabic.

Today, Dheisheh resembles a poor American urban neighborhood with convenience stores, cafes, and densely packed people living in poverty. Ibrahim and many other activists characterized the Palestinian Authority as the manager of the occupation. His radicalization and rejection of state authority follow his experience at the bottom of the existing hierarchy where experience with state sanctioned violence is frequent and brutal.

As a stateless refugee by birth, Ibrahim has been afforded the opportunity to see the system from the outside and from the bottom, where its fundamental flaws are obvious. I asked him, "Is this what it takes?" meaning, does it take domestic conditions this extreme to trigger people to act or even imagine another way of being?

He responded by describing his frustration with people who aren't politically engaged in his community despite the conditions; it mirrored my feelings that I have about my own community, though average people in Dheisheh are by necessity much more engaged than my neighbors.

In a highly militarized, industrial civilization like ours, it

may take extreme shocks like those experienced daily by refugees and other Palestinians to break through the deeply conditioned madness in our society. In Israel, the bedrock of life is fear. The idea that enemies lay in wait on all sides seeking an opportunity to attack pervades the entire culture. Given the origins of Israel and its treatment of Palestinians and Israeli Arabs, it is a self-fulfilling fear.

The background of walls, checkpoints, and ubiquitous soldiers reinforce the sense of danger. In Israeli schools, teachers



Israeli Women in Black protest the Occupation in West Jerusalem. WIB is a world-wide network of women who hold vigils to oppose injustice, war, and militarism. womeninblack.org.

and students are regularly employed as state informants, acclimating students to surveillance and rigid behavioral expectations. This state-fostered paranoia is reinforced in the religious establishment, advertising, and media.

In order to develop nationalistic feelings toward a militarized state, a person needs to create positive associations with violence, prejudices of all stripes, hierarchical structures, and fear. The alternative to this is to shut down cognitive function in order to avoid any dissonance that might emerge. Both of these psychological options for comfortable survival in a military state can shape people who are fearful, and, hence, aggressive, violent, distrustful, and xenophobic.

As I sat on the edge of a planter placed in a West Jerusa-

lem roundabout holding a sign that said "Stop the Occupation," one of many in English, Hebrew, and Arabic during a demonstration called by Women in Black, I experienced what Israelis face when they choose to dissent against their military and government. In a display quite similar to what I've seen in roadside peace demonstrations in the U.S., curses were flung from cars, some swerved closer to spit at us, and the finger was flipped many times.

The women, part of an international network, have protested here each Friday since January 1988. When I went out to join in for the day, I met 84-year-old Judy Blanc, one of the founders of the movement. In the early days of Women in Black, she says, "We didn't have a feminist left-wing movement, so we decided to come out and just say, 'Down with the occupation.'"

At the beginning, in January 1988, there were only seven women involved, but by International Women's Day in March, there were 500. Blanc says, "It spread like a wildfire over Israel. The women weren't all feminists, but they're a silent majority of women against the occupation."

When we met, she was celebrating her grandson, Natan Blanc's release from prison after serving six months (his tenth arrest) for refusing to serve in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Peace organizations including New Profile have helped bring the cause of conscientious objection closer to the forefront in recent years, but Israeli teens like Blanc are regularly jailed, harassed, and socially isolated after making the decision to refuse the compulsory draft.

We met Ruth Hiller, of New Profile, in Tel Aviv, where she shared her political story. In a women's study group on feminism, militarism, and the effects of militarism on Israeli society that sprung out of anti-war demonstrations, Hiller says her education began.

"I had all these things that I felt but I had no channel to place them into or a way to understand what was happening. There was no information about how to get my son out of the military, so I started looking around." Today, New Profile educates youth and parents about militarism, and provides counseling through the Refusers Support Network.

In the Occupied West Bank, the daily display of state power by Israel creates a situation characterized by confusion. Our group kept asking questions, trying to get a mental grasp on the dystopian conditions and laws. Almost all of the local Palestinian activists we met responded with humor, laughing and shrugging at the discord they had grown used to.

We walked through the IDF-staffed Qalandiya



Taylor Weech
with Judy
Blanc, a
founder of
Israel's Women
in Black.

—photo Larry Hendel

checkpoint, where every day thousands of Palestinians attempt to cross between Jerusalem and Ramallah, both in the West Bank, in an ordeal which regularly takes several hours. In the late afternoon when we arrived, there were only a couple dozen other people crossing.

The architecture was dehumanizing; the checkpoint consists of a series of barbed wire-topped cattle chutes to be queued into single file, followed by a buzzing electronic turnstile which moves whether the person inside is ready or not, then a long winding line like those in amusement parks, then a second turnstile, an x-ray machine for bags and people, a glass window with young soldiers behind it who examine ID cards pressed against the window one after the other.

I was at the front of my group and right behind a Palestinian business man in his early 30s. He must have sensed my apprehension and confusion at how the turnstiles worked, because he turned around and said, "When they turn it on, it takes three at a time, no more, no less. So be ready behind me when the light turns green, OK?"

I listened, but when the light turned green, only he passed through and I was stuck in the stopped turnstile. He laughed and said, "...except when it only takes one. They made a liar of me." This checkpoint has been part of his daily routine for the last seven years.

My American colleagues were also baffled by the application of the law in Israel, which differs according to citizenship, ethnicity, and location. One's position as a Jew and an Israeli citizen; Palestinian and an Israeli citizen; a Jerusalem resident; a West Bank resident; or a refugee, determine one's treatment under the law.

In Ramallah, we talked to Brad Parker of Defense for Children International who told us about the Israeli military's common tactic of arresting children, often in the middle of the night, almost always charged with throwing stones. We learned that, much like in the U.S. justice system, the burden of proof rests on the accused.

People asked, "What if the wrong person is arrested?" Parker responded, "There is no wrong (Palestinian) person to arrest."

Due to this chaotic legal arrangement, representation through statehood appeals to some Palestinians as a solution in the same way that electoral reform appeals to liberal Americans, only with more urgency. There is hope for peace in this region, and in the U.S., far outside of the mainstream political discourse and legislative or legal change.

Much of the nonviolent resistance successfully

employed by Palestinians over the years has been undertaken in a horizontal, anarchistic manner, community by community. Demolished villages continue to be rebuilt after paltry U.S. aid runs out, not due to government intervention, but because people voluntarily help one another. Some villages in the Negev have been demolished by the state and rebuilt by their residents and solidarity activists over 70 times.

In Bil'in, we stayed with the family of the filmmaker Iyad Burnat whose documentary, "Five Broken Cameras," chronicles their village's five year struggle against the apartheid wall that snakes its way through their land. I was able to see that stretch of wall and the spent teargas canisters scattered along the path, remnants of the weekly demonstration that had taken place two days before.

During these demonstrations, the Palestinian villagers commitment to nonviolence has been met with multiple deaths at the hands of IDF soldiers. Still, they have persisted with both demonstrations and other actions, including building outposts of their own in the way of construction of the wall.

Villages all along the length of the wall have started protests of their own in solidarity with Bil'in. Anarchists Against the Wall and other groups from within Israel have come to learn the strategies that have been used. AATW and other solidarity organizations share in the risks of resistance with the people of Bil'in and lend a layer of protection by witnessing

How one activist discovered his mail was being watched Even in the modern surveillance state, the cops still use the old methods

LESLIE JAMES PICKERING

Burning Books opened in Buffalo, New York on September 9, 2011, the 40th anniversary of the Attica Prison uprising. The store, located on the city's west side is a family-run, friendly, neighborhood radical bookstore, owned by me, Theresa Baker-Pickering, and Nate Buckley. It has quickly become an activist hub for the local community.

Besides a wide selection of radical books and periodicals, we sponsor noteworthy radical speakers and events from around the country.

In September 2012, I found out that an old friend received a phone call from two FBI agents, asking about me. These agents were from the field office here in Buffalo, where I live.

This friend, however, lives thousands of miles away, hasn't been to Buffalo or

and amplifying the stories happening there around the world.

This steadfast refusal to comply provides an example to resists the world over. In the midst of cultural madness, people still feel the pull of dignity and human potential. This is the sole glimmer of hope in this seemingly intractable situation.

I met the Nassar family at Tent of Nations, an educational and environmental project in the hills southwest of Bethlehem. They farm their land at Daher's Vineyard as they have for a hundred years, but today in the company of international volunteers and solidarity groups who come to help work the land and protect it from demolition by the Israeli military.

Usually, I don't think that a problem can be solved by buying something, but I made a contribution to sponsor one of the ten olive trees that is planted every time one is torn out of the ground by the IDF as the surrounding settlements expand.

Meeting these two families and the rest of the groups taking action to target every facet of Israel's violence gave me hope that the dialogue will continue to expand into action, inspiring people everywhere to grasp their full freedom and agency in balance with nature. **FE**

Taylor Weech is an independent journalist and activist living in Spokane, Wash., who hosts a weekly radio program, *Praxis*, heard on KYRS-FM (kyrs.org) and podcast at praxisradio509.podomatic.com. She can be contacted through her blog of travels and commentary at truthscout.com.

had much communication with me in over a decade.

The FBI wanted to know things like whether I can influence or manipulate people, whether I am a loner or an extremist, whether I am capable of committing illegal or violent activity, etc. They mentioned an unsolved Earth Liberation Front (ELF) action in Pennsylvania from years past and mysteriously claimed that I was stirring up the youth.

Perhaps most disturbing, for those of us who have a decent understanding of the FBI's history, was that they wanted to know people they could talk to that specifically did *not* like me.

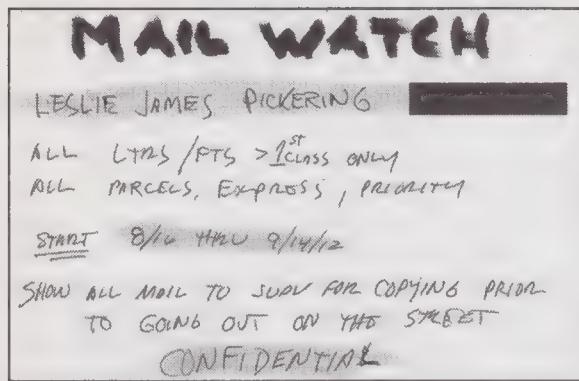
I am not simply an innocent victim. I have been a dedicated and active player in various freedom struggles throughout my adult life, including having been spokesperson for the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) press office from 1997 to 2002, which spoke out in support of an underground organization responsible for dozens of major arson attacks resulting in hundreds of millions of dollars in damages against government agencies and corporations responsible for environmental devastation.

The FBI had designated the ELF as its "number -one domestic terrorist priority," so, I've been in their cross hairs for over 15 years.

>>>>



Leslie James Pickering discovered his mail was being tracked years after he stopped being a spokesman for the Earth Liberation Front



This is what Leslie James Pickering found among the mail for his Buffalo bookstore mail.

When checking my mail just a couple weeks later, I discovered a memo written by hand on the back of a half sheet of US Postal Service (USPS) cardstock. It had apparently ended up there by mistake. It read "MAIL WATCH" in thick, black marker across the top. Along the bottom, in highlighter and pen, it read "CONFIDENTIAL." In between, it detailed my name, our home address, a 30-day period which was then active, and instructions to, "Show all mail to [supervisor] for copying prior to going out on the street."

We quickly showed this "Mail Watch" memo to Michael Kuzma, a good friend who happens to be an attorney with experience in USPS surveillance, grand juries, the Freedom of Information Act and other things related to state repression. Together we figured out that this was likely to be referencing what the USPS officially calls a Mail Cover, a form of postal mail surveillance that has been around for over a century.

Law enforcement agencies are able to apply for a Mail Cover on someone through an application provided by the USPS. If accepted by the Postmaster, the USPS will photocopy the outside of all incoming mail for the agency for 30-day periods.

In early March 2013, I learned that an institution that myself, my family and Burning Books does business with had received a federal grand jury subpoena for all records on me dating back to January 2011.

Later that month, while flying across country, we discovered that I had been placed on the Secondary Security Screening Selection (SSSS) list for commercial air travel. SSSS is a list of individuals who are required to have additional security screening at airports. This additional screening requires the use of chemical swab tests on your clothing, your person and the inside of your luggage, as well as pat-downs, hand held metal detectors and full body scanners.

In response to all this, we formed a legal team and set out to gain support and exposure. We filed a series of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests with the USPS, the US Department of Justice (re: FBI), the Executive Office of US

Attorneys (re: federal grand jury), and Transportation Security Administration (re: SSSS list).

We also filed a formal complaint with the Inspector General. We immediately threw a very successful local fundraiser.

On May 1, a front page article about the situation was printed in the city's daily newspaper, the *Buffalo News*. On June 26, we filed a federal lawsuit against the same federal agencies for failure to comply with our FOIA requests and the next day we had a follow-up article in the *Buffalo News*.

On July 4, *The New York Times*, printed a story focusing on the USPS surveillance, spawning numerous stories nationally. On July 14, NBC Nightly News aired a story on it as well.

Most recently, we received a response to our USPS FOIA request. It included over 30 pages of photocopies of my mail received during the dates outlined on the "Mail Watch" memo, but failed to address our questions of whether I've ever been under a Mail Cover before or am currently under one, and what agency requested the Mail Cover and with what justification. We appealed this response and were informed that it has been granted.

As of right now, we are waiting to see what information our USPS appeal will produce and are awaiting our date in court for the federal lawsuit. Assuming that we are actually able to obtain the documentation supposedly available to us under FOIA, we will then assess the material to see what further legal and public actions are available to us.

We are working to set a firm legal precedent against the current war on human rights in this country. More importantly, we want to inspire, set an example, and open doors for others in situations like ours to fight back.

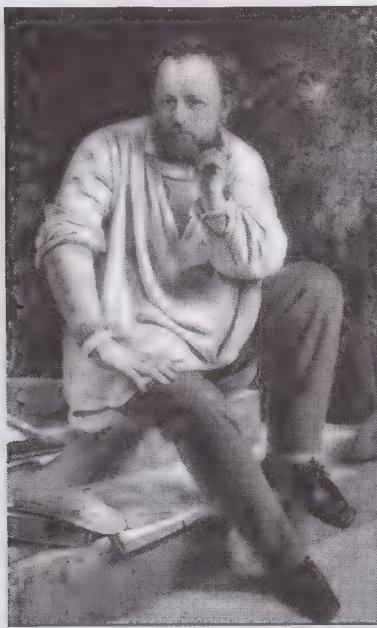
You can help by spreading the word and supporting Leslie, his family & Burning Books. Direct contributions can be made to "Michael Kuzma, Attorney Escrow Account," and mailed to 1893 Clinton Street, Buffalo, NY 14206 (and put "Resist State Repression in BFLO" on the subject line). All funds raised will be used for court fees and related litigation costs.

Burning Books is at 420 Connecticut St., Buffalo, NY 14213 or burningbooksbuffalo.com.

A 2013-2014 nation-wide tour featuring a screening of the documentary film, "If A Tree Falls: The Story of the Earth Liberation Front," is available for booking. Leslie James Pickering, former ELF Press Office spokesperson, will speak at the showings. The film was nominated for an Academy Award in 2012.

Contact Jen Angel at jen@aidandabet.org if you would like to bring this presentation to your campus or community.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon



Government Spying Didn't Begin With the NSA

To Be GOVERNED

The old fashioned mail surveillance described on the opposite page is surprising since now most government snooping is done by modern technology. Apparently, however, the old-fashioned, J. Edgar Hoover-type is still around, although it too is being replaced by technology.

It's recently been exposed that every piece of U.S. mail which goes through the postal system is scanned and its exterior digitally retained just like the NSA files.

But government intrusion into private life and its efforts to disrupt its opponents is nothing new.

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), the first person to call themselves an "anarchist," and the first to use the word "capitalist" to designate a property-owner, made this observation in 1840:

Green Scare Prisoner remains in Worst Fed Prison Campaigners in high gear to Move Marie Mason!

An international campaign demanding that imprisoned environmental activist, Marie Mason, be transferred from the repressive, high-security Carswell federal prison at Fort Worth, Texas, to a minimum security unit close to her family and friends, is in high gear.

Actions include a world-wide letter writing effort addressed to the U.S. federal Bureau of Prisons, legal action, and increased distribution of information about her case.

Mason was sentenced in 2009 to almost 22 years in prison for non-violent eco-sabotage for the arson of a genetically modified organism (GMO) research lab and the monkeywrenching of logging equipment. Her sentence, the longest ever given for environmental direct action, is part of a larger crackdown

by the FBI on environmental activists.

Through the Green Scare, the government targets environmentalists for their politics utilizing tactics of entrapment, the spread of disinformation by paid informants, media smear campaigns, trumped up charges, and harsh prison terms.

Other recent events in support of Marie included the third annual June 11th international day of solidarity with Marie Mason, Eric McDavid, and other long term anarchist prisoners which saw actions and fundraisers across the globe. Thousands of dollars were raised to be split between Marie and Eric support groups.

Support Marie Mason organizers have produced several brochures and handouts that can be downloaded and printed from Marie's web site. Visit supportmarie.org. Brochures can be mailed

to people for distro at local events or brought to appropriate locations.

Marie's supporters stress that their efforts are not aimed only at getting justice for Marie who has been punitively assigned to the federal women's prison system's worst unit.

Rather, they are highlighting the continued attacks on the environmental movement, the appalling conditions in Carswell and other high security prisons, and the use of isolation and long-term solitary confinement against prisoners.

One function of facilities like Carswell, supermaxes, and long-term isolation, is to break the spirit of prisoners. Although Marie is in a highly restricted facility that allows her feet never to touch anything other than concrete and to view the sky only through wire mesh,

John Zerzan

Numb & Number



The digital age is pre-eminently the ultimate reign of Number. It's the time of Big Data where computers (e.g., China's, with the world's fastest) can process 30 quadrillion transactions per second; algorithms that increasingly predict—and control—what happens in society.

Number surpasses all other ideas for its combination of impact and implication. Counting means imposing a definition and a control, assigning a number value. It is the foundation for a world in which whatever can be domesticated and controlled can also be commodified.

Number is the key to mastery: everything must be measured, quantified. It is not what we can do with number, but what it does to us. Like technology, its intimate ally, number is anything but neutral. It tries to make us forget that there is so much that shouldn't or can't be measured.

Fifth Estate published my "Number: Its Origin and Evolution" in Summer 1985 just as the digital age was gaining traction following the personal computer explosion at the beginning of the 1980s. The quickening (anti-) pulse of technological change over the past 30 years has been at base a mathematization.

Social life in the post-community era is detached, disembodied, drained, statistical. Its core is administration, just as the essence of number is calculation. "Mathematical thinking is coercive," disclosed British philosopher J.R. Lucas. Number totalizes; in mathematics, ambiguity is anathema. The technoculture obeys these norms, and we dance to its tune, its code: number.

But there are some who applaud the new, always more arid reality. And postmodernism wasn't the nadir of thought, after all. Alain Badiou, the contemporary French philosopher, denies that the Techno Age brings more and more nihilism and mediocrity. Mocking Heidegger's critique of the ascendancy of technology, he declares that there's not enough of it!

Badiou's *Being and Event* (1988), empty and ahistorical, somehow installed him as arguably the biggest star of philoso-

phy in the West. *Number and Numbers* (1990) is his follow-up hymn to estrangement. Mathematics is philosophy, is being, in a formulation as hideous as it is astounding.

Fellow Marxist-Leninist and postmodern/speed freak/pop culture clown, Slavoj Zizek, proclaimed *Number and Numbers*, "breathtaking... [it] announces a new epoch in philosophy." Zizek is correct, but only in a thoroughly negative sense. Michel Foucault evidently didn't see Badiou coming when he held that "theory is by nature opposed to power."

Number implies a relationship and that relationship is precisely that of power, as with capital, but more primary. Communists like Badiou (and Zizek), needless to say, have never taken the trouble to oppose power. A footnote by Andrew Gibson is revealing. Badiou had told him "that he has no liking for James Joyce. One suspects that there is simply too much world there for him." Too much uncontrolled world.

Number is a form of being for Badiou. What's more, "mathematics is the infinite development of what can be said of being *qua* being." That is, mathematics is already philosophy; ontology is actually mathematics.

Postmodernism elevated liberal doubt as its response to anyone who could imagine a condition outside alienation and subjection. It worked in a negative vein (e.g., Derrida) to undermine any grounds for hope.

Badiou promotes a positivity that works toward the same end. For him, politics is the possibility of a "rupture with what exists." But he grounds this positive hope, his "rupture," in

We're MAD! Our writers look at how being mad and getting mad takes many forms



Psychiatry's Oppression of Young Anarchists — and the Underground Resistance

BRUCE E. LEVINE

Many young people diagnosed with mental disorders are essentially anarchists with the bad luck of being misidentified by mental health professionals who: (1) are ignorant of the social philosophy of anarchism, (2) embrace, often without political consciousness, its opposite ideology of hierarchism, and (3) confuse the signs of anarchism with symptoms of mental illness.

My experience as a clinical psychologist for almost three decades is that many young people labeled with psychiatric diagnoses are essentially anarchists in spirit who are pained, anxious, depressed, and angered by coercion, unnecessary rules, and illegitimate authority.

Bruce E. Levine, a practicing clinical

psychologist, writes about how society, culture, politics and psychology intersect. His latest book is *Get Up, Stand Up: Uniting Populists, Energizing the Defeated, and Battling the Corporate Elite*. His web site is brucelevine.net

An often-used psychiatric diagnosis for children and adolescents is oppositional defiant disorder (ODD); its symptoms include "often actively defies or refuses to comply with adult requests or rules" and "often argues with adults."

Among young people diagnosed with attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), psychologist Russell Barkley, one of mainstream mental health's leading ADHD authorities, says that they have deficits in "rule-governed behavior," as they are less responsive to rules of authorities and less sensitive to positive or negative consequences.

A frequently used research tool that distinguishes alcohol/drug abuser personalities was developed by Craig MacAndrew (commonly called the MAC scale), and it reveals that the most significant "addictive personality type" have discipline problems at school, are less tolerant of boredom, are less compliant with authorities and some laws, and engage in more disapproved sexual practices.

Teenagers, as evidenced by their musical tastes, often have an affinity for anti-authoritarianism, but most do not act on their beliefs in a manner that would make them vulnerable to violent reprisals by authorities.

However, I have found that many young people diagnosed with mental disorders — perhaps owing to some combination of integrity, fearlessness, and naiveté — have acted on their beliefs in ways that threaten authorities. Historically in American society, there is often a steep price paid by those who have this combination of integrity, fearlessness, and naiveté.

Most rebellious young people diagnosed with mental disorders do not suffer from this, and become excited to hear that there is a political ideology that encompasses their point of view.

They immediately become more whole after they discover that answering "yes" to the following questions does not mean that they suffer from a mental disorder but instead have a certain social philosophy:

- Do you hate coercion and domination?
- Do you love freedom?
- Are you willing to risk punishments to gain freedom?
- Do you instinctively distrust large, imper-

sonal, and distant authorities?

- Do you think people should organize themselves rather than submit to authorities?
- Do you dislike being either an employer or an employee?
- Do you smile after reading the Walt Whitman quote, "Obey little, resist much"?

Young people who oppose inequality and exploitation, reject a capitalist economy, and aim for a society based on cooperative, mutually-owned enterprise are essentially anarchists—perhaps calling themselves anarcho-syndicalists or anarcho-communitarians.

When they discover what Noam Chomsky, Peter Kropotkin, Kirkpatrick Sale, or Emma Goldman have to say, they may identify with them. These young people have a strong moral streak of egalitarianism and a desire for social and economic justice. Not only are they not mentally ill, but are the hope of society.

There is another group of freedom-loving young people who hate the coercion of parents, schools, and the state but lack an egalitarian moral streak, and are very much into money and capitalism. Some of them may have been dragged into the mental health system after having been caught drug dealing, and are labeled with conduct disorder and/or a personality disorder. While these young people rebel against being controlled and exploited themselves, many of them are not averse to controlling and exploiting others and so are not anarchists, but some experience transformations and become so.

An Underground Resistance for Oppressed Young Anarchists

There are at least two ways that mental health professionals can join the resistance: (1) speak out about the political role of mental health institutions in maintaining the status quo in society; and (2) de-pathologize and repoliticize rebellion in one's clinical practice, which includes helping young anarchists navigate an authoritarian society without becoming self-destructive or destructive to others, and helping families build respectful, non-coercive relationships.

If a young anarchist (politically conscious or otherwise) is dragged by parents into my office for failing to take school seriously but is otherwise pleasant and excited by learning, I tell parents that I do not believe that there is anything essentially "disordered" with their child. This sometimes gets me fired, but not all that often. I have found that most parents may think that believing a society can function without coercion is naive but they agree that it's not a mental illness, and they're open to suggestions that will create greater harmony and joy within their family.

I work hard with parents to have them understand that their attempt to coerce their child to take school

seriously not only has failed—that's why they're in my office—but will likely continue to fail. And increasingly, the pain of their failed coercion will be compounded by the pain of their child's resentment, which will destroy their relationship with them and create even more family pain.

Many parents acknowledge that this resentment already exists. I ask liberal parents, for example, if they would try to coerce a homosexual child into being heterosexual or vice versa, and most say, "Of course not!" And so they begin to see that temperamentally anarchist children cannot be similarly coerced without great resentment.

It has been my experience that many rebellious young people labeled with psychiatric disorders and substance abuse don't reject all authorities, simply those they've assessed to be illegitimate ones, which just happens to be a great deal of society's authorities. Often, these young people are craving a relationship with mutual respect in which they can receive help navigating the authoritarian society around them.

The U.S. Centers for Disease Control in "Mental Health Surveillance Among Children—United States, 2005–2011," reported: "A total of 13%–20% of children living in the United States experience a mental disorder in a given year, and surveillance during 1994–2011 has shown the prevalence of these conditions to be increasing."

Is there an epidemic of childhood mental illness, or is there a curious revolt? My experience is that many young Americans—feeling helpless, hopeless, bored, scared, misunderstood, and uncared about—ultimately rebel, but given their wherewithal, their rebellion is often disorganized, futile, self-destructive, and appears to mental health professionals as a disorder or illness. Underlying many of psychiatry's diagnoses is the experience of helplessness, hopelessness, boredom, fear, isolation, and dehumanization.

Young anarchists are especially sensitive to American society's absence of autonomy, community, and humanity, and this can result in overwhelming anxiety and depression.

- Does society, especially for young people, promote:

- Respectful personal relationships—or manipulative impersonal ones?
- Empowerment—or helplessness?
- Autonomy (self-direction)—or heteronomy (institutional-direction)?
- Participatory democracy—or authoritarian hierarchies?
- Diversity and stimulation—or homogeneity and boredom?
- Emotional and behavioral problems are often natural human reactions to a society that cares little about:
 - Autonomy—self-direction and the experience of potency
 - Community—strong bonds that provide

for economic security and emotional satisfaction, and

- Humanity—the variety of ways of being human, the variety of satisfactions, and the variety of negative reactions to feeling controlled rather than understood.

Young anarchists are especially sensitive to American society's absence of autonomy, community, and humanity, and this can result in overwhelming anxiety and depression.

While giant pharmaceutical corporations promote psychiatry's authority as a vehicle for increased drug sales, the whole of the corporate state supports psychiatry so as to maintain the status quo. In the old Soviet Union, political dissidents were diagnosed by psychiatrists as mentally ill, then hospitalized and drugged.

Even more effective for those at the top of the hierarchy is what now occurs in the United States: diagnosing and treating anti-authoritarians before they have reached political consciousness and before they have created communities of resistance.

One reason there is so little political activism in the United States is that a potentially huge army of anti-authoritarians are being depoliticized by mental illness diagnoses and by attributions that their inattention, anger, anxiety, and despair are caused by defective biochemistry, not by their alienation from a dehumanizing society. These diagnoses and attributions make them less likely to organize democratic movements to transform society.

In the early nineteenth century in the United States, a net-

work of secret routes, conductors, and safe houses were utilized by African-Americans to escape from slavery. This network was commonly called "The Underground Railroad," organized by runaway slaves, free African-American abolitionists, and white abolitionists. Today, communities of ex-psychiatric patients (see, for example, MindFreedom and the Icarus Project) are helping young anti-authoritarians resist their mental illness labeling and coercive treatments. There are also a handful of mental health professional dissident organizations that, while not promoting the social philosophy of anarchism, do oppose dehumanizing diagnoses and coercive treatments, for example, the International Society for Ethical Psychology and Psychiatry.

While there are career risks for modern day mental health dissident professionals, these are small risks compared with those taken by slavery abolitionists. So, as a mental health professional, I find it quite embarrassing that there are so few professionals involved in the current resistance.

In American history, there have been several shameful periods where groups including Native Americans, homosexuals, and assertive women, have been pathologized, dehumanized, and meted out oppressive treatments by mental health professionals in an attempt to alter their basic being.

Today's psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, and counselors would do well to recognize that historians do not look kindly on those professionals who participated in institutional dehumanization and oppression. **FE**

I was corrupted by MAD (magazine)

BERNARD MARSZALEK

MAD, the wildly satirical humor magazine, was my primer for critical thinking in my early teens. This may seem an odd statement given the vacuous contents of the current magazine, but today's *MAD* is a pale reflection of its initial 1950s issues. We could say that it has been "neo-liberalized" like all mainstream media.

MAD magazine first appeared on newsstands across America in 1952. Well, it appeared on some newsstands. Not every drugstore or newsstand carried it because many distributors hesitated to see it next to *Little Lulu* or *Archie*. *MAD* was too "adult." In fact, the publisher, Bill Gaines of EC Comics transformed *MAD* from a



satirical comic to a magazine to avoid the censorship of the Comics Code that banished his complete line of cutting edge comics in the 50s.

The 50s was a weird decade of conformism on all fronts. The fear of communist (meaning Jewish) influence over the minds of little (Christian) children was only one aspect of the exuberant cultivation of the Red Scare that didn't evaporate with the banishment of comic hunting Sen. Joe McCarthy.

A wingnut named Dr. Fredric Wertham, a psychiatrist who claimed comic

books were dangerous to children, wrote a 1948 *Collier's* magazine article, "Horror in the Nursery," to agitate for a Congressional Commission to investigate the unsavory influence of comics on the so-called rise of Juvenile Delinquency. JD in that decade amounted to not much more than petty vandalism and street fighting – quaint rumbles with chains and knives. However, the public hysteria created by Wertham in his book, *Seduction of the Innocent* and Congressional hearings, sufficiently upset the essential turpitude of the consumer society abuilding in that decade enough to precipitate self-censorship of transgressive mass media through the comic publisher's Comics Code Authority.

MAD, as an illustrated magazine, freed from previous restrictions, took on a more provocative role and gained popularity beyond the publisher's expectations. The magazine became the venue for some of the best comic writers of the decade, names that will

be unfamiliar today, but in their day commanded national recognition on radio and television.

MAD alone in the popular media (and pointedly, advertisement-free) provided a satirical take on celebrity culture, politics, and advertising. Short humorous articles coupled with biting cartoons were an explosive combination that saw quick sales. Often issues sold out within days.

For a teen-ager like myself, first becoming aware of a massively mismanaged world, where within minutes warning I could be vaporized in a thermonuclear conflagration, *MAD* offered a bit of oddball sanity. Sitting reading the latest issue in my lower middle class home in Chicago, I no longer felt isolated and vulnerable to feelings of dread and doom.

MAD magazine was my inspiration for an underground high school journal of satire and abuse of authority of my own for which I was reprimanded and punished after the third issue fell into the hands of the targets of my venom. But the best example of how *MAD* buoyed my spirits in those days revolves around Mr. Lewandowski's Sophomore Rhetoric Class.

This was essentially a public speaking class, more than advocacy, and one I especially detested. Every speech was an opportunity for the class of testosterone hyperactive males – I attended an all-boys school – to ridicule the hapless speaker with facial expressions unseen by Mr. Lewandowski, who consistently stood in the back room unaware of the facial machinations of the demons sitting at their desks supposedly in rapt attention.

The day I heard that our next assignment was to deliver a humorous speech, I was about to fake a near death experience to avoid the prospect of standing like a fool in front of that class trying to be funny. That night at home, I ransacked my collection of *MADs* until I found the perfect piece to develop into a speech.

Since the assignment did not mandate an original composition, I chose a *MAD* parody of an Army Sergeant's training lecture for new recruits. Accompanying the text were drawings the Sergeant referred to demonstrating how to tie combat boots, how to tuck in one's shirt, where to display campaign ribbons, carry one's rifle, and so forth.

I redrew the illustrations on large poster board and retrieved an old army shirt and cap that I still had from a grammar school play and stood in front of the hallway mirror for endless hours fine-tuning my absurd presentation. Of course, the shirt didn't fit, but that added to the effect I was after – total ridicule of the military services. Needless-to-say my speech drew major guffaws from the class and Mr. Lewandowski's beaming face registered "A" all over.

I must admit that in my youth, I fantasized becoming a stand-up comic in imitation of Lenny Bruce, an idol of mine at the time, or later, Mort Sahl, but circumstances and opportunities led me down another path. However, I did retain, and deepen, my hostility to the military, and later refused Army induction to fight in Vietnam.

In 2010, the magazine's oldest and longest-running contributor, Al Jaffee, told an interviewer, "*Mad* was designed to corrupt the minds of children. And, from what I'm gathering from the minds of people all over, we succeeded."

So, maybe *MAD* did corrupt me after all, as Dr. Wertham predicted and Jaffee and his *Mad* crew intended. But if that is the case, then all I can say is that to be "corrupted" to a system of injustice frees one to choose noncompliance, and rebellion.

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Madness, Rebellion, and Community Gardens



Maps to the Other Side: The Adventures of a Bipolar Cartographer, Sascha Altman DuBrul, 2013, Microcosm Publishing, 189 pp., \$15.95, microcosmpublishing.com

KELLY PFLUG-BACK

“The deeper that sorrow carves into your being, the more joy you can contain...” once wrote the renowned Lebanese poet Kahlil Gibran. “Verily you are suspended like scales between your sorrow and your joy. Only when you are empty are you at standstill and balanced.”

While the term “bipolar” had not yet been introduced into the world of psychiatry when Gibran wrote these words in 1923, the sentiment is strikingly similar to that found in the eclectic mixture of essays, interviews, eulogies for deceased friends, and self-reflective ramblings which compose Sascha Altman DuBrul’s latest book, *Maps to the Other Side*.

This slim volume is part punk memoir, part how-to man-

ual for guerrilla gardening, and part rallying cry for a revolution in terms of our cultural perceptions of and reactions to mental health.

For those well-versed in the literary products of the American punk scene, DuBrul's candid storytelling and angst poeticism will be reminiscent of such titles as Noah Levine's *Dharma Punx* and Henry Rollins's *Black Coffee Blues* series.

However, while the cynic in me has a tendency to brush off figures such as Rollins as being more talk than action, DuBrul takes the non-conformity and anti-authoritarian sentiments of punk rock past the level of mere social criticism, and into the realm of applied and meaningful social change.

The self-proclaimed child of an upper-middle class, intellectual New York family, DuBrul describes shirking the conventional path expected of well-to-do youngsters and seeking his education hopping freight trains, living in squats and starting anarchist food security projects rather than in university lecture halls.

While his descriptions of the drifter lifestyle are rife with certain romanticized notions of squalor and street life which generally seem unique to those who live in poverty by choice, it soon becomes difficult to dismiss him as another hipster malcontent with a publishing contract.

DuBrul's sheer dedication to anarchist organizing has earned him an impressive activist resume—throughout his travels, he describes working as a human rights observer with the Zapatistas in the Lacandon jungle during the 1990's, forming the Bay Area Seed Interchange Library (a community garden project which is still running strong today), touring with the iconic punk band Choking Victim, and of course co-founding the Icarus Project, a radical community organization dedicated to ending the stigma surrounding mental health issues and providing alternative support for people who are otherwise left at the mercy of the mainstream psychiatric system.

What are commonly referred to in our society as "mental illnesses," the Icarus Project challenges us to think of not as congenital defects, but rather as natural forms of human diversity which carry positive as well as negative potential, Dangerous Gifts, as he calls them.

DuBrul's descriptions of his life and activism, indeed, give credence to this concept. While his vibrant levels of energy would be the envy of many and

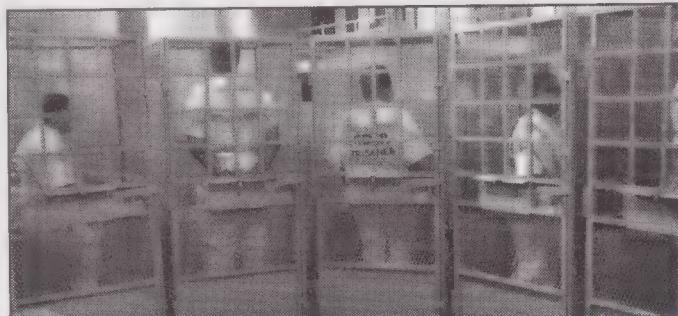
have undoubtedly been a valuable asset to several anarchist communities, these bouts of inspiration and productivity come at a price.

"They say that the shaman swims in the waters that the schizophrenic drowns in," DuBrul writes, pages after a harrowing transcript from his third time being admitted into a psychiatric institution. The transcript documents the writer at age 33 being found dishevelled and half-clothed on a rooftop, destroying a satellite dish which he believed to be transmitting signals from aliens. In another chapter, DuBrul offers an almost light hearted description of an incident in which he was picked up by police while smashing church windows with his bare hands and running through traffic, "convinced that the world had ended."

The Icarus project, DuBrul explains, was named after the Greek myth of Icarus, whose father, the craftsman Daedalus, made his son wings of wax and feathers on which he could escape from the city of Crete where both were held captive. Heedless of paternal warnings, Icarus flew too high, and plunged to his doom when the heat of the sun inevitably melted his wings.

This story, according to DuBrul, is an apt metaphor for the "double-edged blessing" of Dangerous Gifts. "At our heights we may find ourselves capable of creating music, art, words, and inventions which touch people's souls and change the course of history," he writes. "At our depths we may end up alienated and alone, incarcerated in psychiatric institutions, or dead by our own hands."

The Icarus Project's radical take on mental health has not come without criticism. DuBrul writes at one point about him and his comrades being approached during an educational seminar they were hosting by the relative of a person who had recently committed suicide. She lambasted them for glorifying things which can be devastating and fatal



California prison group therapy cages.

for many people.

While DuBrul at times could be seen as glorifying his Dangerous Gifts, often referring to them endearingly as his "super powers," turning social ostracization into a sort of elitism has long been a coping mechanism, and often a survival strategy, of the oppressed.

People who fail to fit into psychiatric definitions of mental health and stability have for so long been told that we are worthless, defective, and deranged, that perhaps a bit of overcompensation is called for

when it comes to reversing society's biases as well as our own internalized notions of self worth.

Whether or not one agrees with the idea that exceptionalities such as being bi-polar are gifts rather than illnesses, the Icarus Project provides an alternative for people who struggle with their mental health in a world of profoundly limited options.

In addition to hosting workshops and peer-support systems, the Icarus Project is also one of the only groups providing people with information on how to safely stop taking psychiatric medications.

Simultaneously, they do not view medication as being something inherently good or bad- DuBrul himself writes that he has taken the medication Lithium every day for years, and that he finds its effects beneficial in combination with a generally healthy lifestyle.

Maps is hardly a book which follows a conventional narrative. Rather than being a single story, it reads as a collection of small ones which weave together and intersect in a frenetic sort of web.

Though its chaotic nature at times resembles a journal or scrap-book, the common patterns found throughout it are clear: the concept of health, whether physical or mental, is not something which we can truly achieve on an individual basis.

While modern consumer society touts models of achieving health by way of buying organic wheat grass juice, signing up for yoga classes, or going on personal wellness retreats, DuBrul shows, rather than tells, the ways in which this is a fallacy.

If our environment is sick and our community is suffering, then all the bottled wheat grass juice and meditation retreats in the world can only do so much for us.

Whether it means growing our own food and sharing skills on bio-diesel conversion or forming spaces where we can safely talk about our mental wellness, health is something which begins with the ability to provide for ourselves collectively, both in terms of physical and emotional needs.

As the fight to de-stigmatize mental health becomes more prominent in public discourse, hopefully we will see more activists like DuBrul mapping out the connections between anarchism, community building, and the importance of honouring human diversity in all of its beautiful forms.

M.A.D. Mutually Assured Destruction

PETER WERBE

It's hard to pinpoint exactly when societies began to exhibit mass madness, but it certainly happened as the political state arose some scant four thousand years ago. What delusions of grandeur must have inhabited the mind of the first man to stand atop a ziggurat and announce that he was the representative of the gods on earth, or, crazier, that he was a god manifest with the right to rule over his subjects.

And, what mass psychological process occurred to make those who stood at the base of a pyramid looking upward, those who previously saw themselves as equals in a tribal society, submit to the will of an exalted ruler?

No pre-state society could have survived exhibiting mental illness on such a scale or among its leadership. People we now designate as bi-polar, for instance, in tribal society often were revered as having special spiritual powers. However, an incompetent chief who made bad decisions could cause the extinction of a small band.

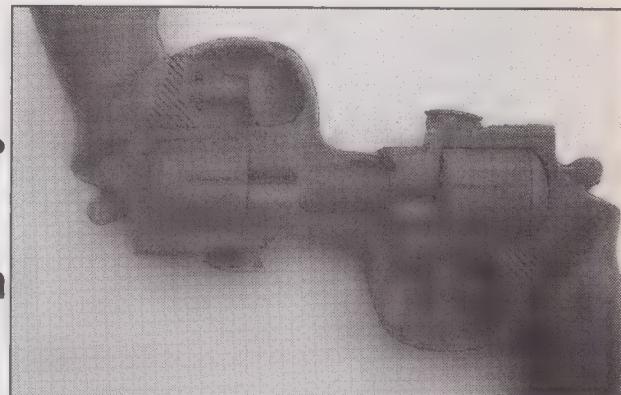
With the introduction of mass technics, however, from agriculture to industrialism, the capacity for error that didn't bring down the entire society grew exponentially. In fact, most of what is associated with state society—empire and its wars, famine, slavery, class divisions, and environmental destruction, all of which should have brought about existential crises—

only creates the context in which a rival arises in the place of the failed one with no basic alterations.

In the modern era, with warfare's technological improvements, millions are slaughtered rather than simply tens of thousands. What kind of madmen preside over such catastrophes and how can they mobilize their population to not simply submit to being cannon fodder, but to enthusiastically spill their enemies' blood and destroy their lands with such great relish?

George Orwell writes about this illustratively in *1984* where feverish crowds participate in daily Two Minutes Hate against Big Brother's enemy. Radical psychotherapist, Wilhelm Reich, described the obeisance to authority as part of a mass psychology of submission—fear of a punishing father manifesting itself in obeying the leader or the state.

Nation state madness is perhaps most imaginatively posed by science fiction novelist, Philip K. Dick, whose anarchist views appear in many of his 44 novels. In his 1964, *Clans of the Alphane Moon*, the protagonist lands on what was an Earth colony and immediately becomes enmeshed in rather standard adventures, plots, and conspiracies among rival groups.



He soon learns that the orb he is on is a global psychiatric institution where Earth colonists from other planets with emotional disorders were sent. The people have divided into caste-like diagnostic groups and this is Dick's critique of the contemporary world.

The Pares, those who exhibit paranoia, are the politicians and statesmen and the most steeped in the entanglements that constitute the book's plot. The Manses, the most active class, suffer from mania, and are the planet's warriors, always ready to employ force. There are five other clans who make up the society, but the first two are the ones which create the chaos, all the while posing themselves as guardians of order.

Organized state violence has never wavered, only its means. During the siege of Jerusalem by the knights of the First Crusade in 1099, these crazed religious zealots from Europe slaughtered almost 30,000 Muslims and Jews by hand.

By arrival of the blood-drenched 20th Century, that many would die during a single day's battle in World War I. One would think that conflict which caused the deaths of tens of millions from war and disease would have lived up to its promise of being "the war to end all wars." However, undeterred by the carnage, the same belligerents renewed their inter-imperial conflict a scant 20-plus years later with a similar horrific loss of life and destruction of cities. The names of Auschwitz, Dresden, and Hiroshima joined with those of the Verdun, Somme, and Ypres battles. It was like the Berserkers, the Old Norse warriors who fought in a nearly uncontrollable, trance-like fury, ruled every nation.

But they weren't. Rather, it was men deemed rational by their societies who pushed people into gas chambers, commanded the firebombing of cities, ordered huge battles, and finally unleashed a weapon that dwarfed all that had proceeded it—the atomic bomb.

When the Holocaust was designed or the decision made to drop atom bombs on Japanese cities, it was done in a detached, bureaucratic manner for the supposed good of the particular nation. The planners and generals around Hitler and those who advised U.S. President Truman were not berserkers; they wore suits and uniforms, carried briefcases filled with charts and graphs; they had intense discussions about the legitimacy of their planned acts. The former were called war criminals because they lost the conflict.

The first atomic bomb launched at Hiroshima killed 100,000 people with many more dying later; an act unrelated to the war with an all but defeated, ready to surrender Japan. Instead, it was aimed at the Soviet Union with the hopes of diminishing its attempts at post-war communist gains. Truman and his advisers wanted the Soviets to know that the U.S. not only possessed the weapon, but was willing to use it no matter what civilian toll was exacted.

As the cold war commenced, the U.S., and then the Soviets built nuclear arsenals that threatened one another with retaliation should the other launch a first strike. The destructive power each possessed was further enhanced with the addition

of hydrogen bombs, developed by ex-Nazi scientists, capable of being delivered by bombers and intercontinental missiles.

Armaments and delivery systems on both sides reached such proportions that war strategists postulated that an atomic stalemate had been achieved so that no matter which country launched a first strike, a retaliatory launch would assure the destruction of the other.

The annihilation of the world's population became a possibility and was aptly named MAD. Mutually Assured Destruction.

Emerson's quote of things being in the saddle and riding man comes to mind. A system literally out of control; created by humans but ruled by its technology and potential for error.

Fortunately, several hair raising miscalculations of imminent attacks were caught before the rockets and planes were given their launch orders, and the mere thread of a wire saved the U.S. east coast from nuclear destruction following an accident in 1961; one among many accidents.

A tense but what the MAD designers contended was a stable global peace was maintained, at least on the nuclear level. However, the delicate balance was always at risk since each side was motivated to build a larger, incapacitating first strike capacity which would hobble the other's ability to retaliate.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, most Americans reduced their fear of nuclear war to the point where it now is a concern of very few. No more air raid drills or rooftop Russian plane spotting as kids were subjected to in the 1950s. The so-called "nuke fear" was real, but also induced by the U.S. rulers to manipulate the threat from their imperial rival.

But it is an illusion that the threat no longer exists. The U.S. and Russia still have 1,800 warheads on "high alert" that can be switched to launch in 10 minutes, each aimed at the other's major population centers. There are always discussions and even urgings on the part of many in the political and military establishments to sign a treaty to substantially reduce each other's nuclear arsenals, but there is little that ever gets to the policy stage let alone an agreement. As it is, the agreements proposed would leave the U.S. with a thousand serviceable weapons, and the Obama administration has asked for increased funding for the American atomic arsenal.

The threat of nuclear attack remains viable and possible from an escalation of tensions or human error. For instance, in May, the Air Force stripped 17 officers of their authority to launch nuclear missiles after the group's commander said the unit suffered from "rot" within its ranks. Could it be different in Russia? One can imagine both here and there, a bunch of young gamers, hung over from a night of clubbing, rubbing their red eyes trying to determine whether a flock of birds are incoming enemy missiles (it happened) or whether a launch command is authentic or not. Our fate as a planet could hang on distorted human perception atop a pitiless technology.

Capitalism itself is a mad system, and what was intended as a defense mechanism against a rival ideology could still create mutual destruction. **FE**

In the existing world, largely governed by the logic of capital and the pathologies of accumulation, real madness is the absence of revolt.

Wherever revolt is absent in the world today, we should worry about human health and sanity. A society that does not revolt against a social order that damages it with such escalating facility—psychologically, collectively, ecologically—is a society at the terminal stage.

Revolt is the healthy expression of reasonable refusal.

For those who want to throw the existing world into question, the liberal political philosophy of John Rawls (1921 – 2002) is of little use. After the publication of his first major work, *A Theory of Justice* (1971), Rawls became the most influential liberal philosopher

of the second half of the 20th century, receiving accolades and awards from scholars, and from politicians like Bill Clinton.

He remains a touchstone intellectual for contemporary liberalism, and as one of its greatest advocates. Rawls is relevant to considerations of the disastrous limitations and contradictions of his own worldview.

Among Rawls' many errors, the most fatal was his contention that "justice" and "fairness" could be satisfactorily realized within the limits of capitalist society. This same premise continues to ground the most fundamental liberal conceits, including that perplexingly unshakeable faith in "capitalist democracy."

Like most liberals, Rawls never took riot, revolt, or revolution seriously since he viewed them as superfluous to the interests of the "least advantaged members of society," as he frequently called them. Instead, Rawls devoted his life's work to theorizing a "practical" way toward that greatest of all contradictions in terms, a fair capitalist society. Most liberals agree with these contentions, making it fair to conclude that they scarcely understand the logic of capital, and the countless catastrophes of capitalist society.



THE REASONABLE “MADNESS” OF REVOLT

Isn’t it crazier to submit?

RICHARD GILMAN-OPALSKY

Having said this, Rawls' famous distinction between the "reasonable" and the "rational" is convincing and useful for purposes other than his own. Here, I shall use it to make the case for the rationality and reason of revolt. Rawls writes:

"Reasonable persons are ready to propose, or to acknowledge when proposed by others, the principles needed to specify what can be seen by all as fair terms of cooperation... Some have a superior political power or are placed in more fortunate circumstances; . . . it may be rational for those so placed to take advantage of their situation. . . Common sense views the reasonable but not, in general, the rational as a moral idea involving moral sensibility."

In other words, if something (in thought or action) can be made to make sense, then it has an accessible rationale, and is thereby "rational." Everything that is understandable, explicable, or that can be comprehended from someone's experience and point of view, is rational. If you murder someone in a jealous rage, in a "crime of passion," the action is rational to the extent that we understand why you did it, even though we can say it was unreasonable at the same time.

What makes something reasonable, according to Rawls, is its "moral sensibility," the idea that it is the right thing to do, that it is fair. There is always your rational self-interest, and then there is what is good for the community, and sometimes (not always) the two are mutually exclusive. In many cases, there is a rationale for doing X, but it is more reasonable to do Y instead.

Part of what is good in Rawls' definition is that he makes it difficult to be "irrational." To be irrational, one has to do or think something that cannot be understood, that is totally inexplicable—that cannot be made to make any sense. Throughout history, this has been the plight of the "mad," of "madness"—a

history of horrific misunderstanding.

But if something can be given a rationale, then it is at least rational, even if it is not the right thing to do (i.e., reasonable). On this view, we can say that rioting and terrorism are rational, even when we do not want to call them reasonable. We cannot disqualify thoughts and actions as irrational as long as they embody and reflect grievances we are capable of understanding.

There is a long history of people in positions of power calling everyone who doesn't share their position "irrational." There is also a long history of turning that inverted perspective on its head.

Plato understood this point well, as he argued against the sophists, those "professional intellectuals" who sold ideas to the sons of wealthy families. In Plato's *Meno*, Socrates engages in discussion with one of Meno's slaves to prove that the slave possesses intellectual capabilities that must not be denied. Eventually, Meno's slave comes to feel that he has "spontaneously recovered" knowledge, an epiphany that was dialectically aroused.

The problem with the *Meno* case is that the mid-wife for the slave's epiphany is the guidance of the most iconic philosopher of all, Socrates; so the slave cannot take full credit for his achievement in the end! But often, there aren't any knowing philosophers, iconic, professional, self-proclaimed, or otherwise, helping to make philosophy happen. Sometimes social upheavals arouse the deep questioning and epiphanies. Often, nothing "does" philosophy better than revolt.

We could affirm Alain Badiou's statement that "as a philosopher, I never accept the world as it is." Good philosophy throws the world into question. But no conventional text can expect to be as provocative or compelling as creative, unpredictable uprisings that seize attention and ignite imaginations.

Revolt is the activity of radical criticism. Revolt is a philosophical modality, a way of doing and of surpassing the work of professional intellectuals. In short, we must rethink riot, insurrection, and revolt as modalities of rationality and reason.

When we speak of insurrection, we need not invoke some narrow notion of armed militant factions in a stand-off with state power. We can recover the word's 15th century meaning, which is defined by the idea of "a rising up." The risings-up of insurrection start from within a system or place, and involve going against from within, making problems from inside.

And, insurrection says something legible about the system in which it rises up, even when its opponents deem it "irrational." The question is: What

does it have to say about the social, political, or economic systems in which it occurs?

In the wake of the riots around London in early August 2011, Darcus Howe, a West Indian writer and broadcaster in London, was interviewed on the BBC. From his perspective, it was quite clear that the riots were an insurrectionary expression of youth defiance against constant police brutality and racism throughout many London boroughs. Howe understood the riots to be telling us that there was something seriously wrong in the country.

As he put it, "what is obvious is that these young people will go on relentlessly . . . They've seen Syrians, Libyans, Egyptians and insurrection. I don't think four months jailed in a miserable little hole will change them. It's a different set of youths today. That's been going on since I landed here 50 years ago, now it's almost complete. I think this insurrection is the last stop in its completeness."

Whether or not one agrees with Howe's analysis (and he was at least wrong about the insurrection of 2011 being the "last stop"), he is rightly interested in the rational and reasonable content of the events. Meanwhile, Howe's interviewer at the BBC would not recognize the existence of anything sensible in the riots, because her position expressed the general view of the opposition in power, denying the upheavals any rationality or reason, reducing the whole expression to an aberrant, senseless episode of violence.

There is a long history of people in positions of power calling everyone who doesn't share their position "irrational."

Richard

Gilman-Opalsky is the author of *Spectacular Capitalism: Guy Debord and the Practice of Radical Philosophy* (Autonomaedia, 2011) and *Unbounded Publics: Transgressive Public Spheres, Zapatismo, and Political Theory* (Lexington Books, 2008). He is a professor of political philosophy at the University of Illinois, Springfield, where he teaches numerous subjects in theory and praxis. He is also an activist and a freejazz drummer.

Insurrection doesn't seek new government. New government makes new betrayals, and hopefully, brings forth the reasonable criticisms of new insurrection, as was demonstrated by the uprisings against Egyptian president Morsi in the summer of 2013.

To be sure, many uprisings do not have revolutionary content, for they occur in response to contested election results, court decisions, or even electrical blackouts; masses of unruly, clamoring people breaking down doors are sometimes mobilized by the shopping prospects of Black Friday in the U.S., or a new Nike sneaker debut (i.e., a so-called "riot" at a mall in Orlando, Florida, in February 2012). But even a frenzied mass of consumers stealing sneakers and TVs expresses something quite serious about a culture, if we want to listen!

More reliably, the messages of insurrection are written by those who want to live in a different world, perhaps an impossible world, a world that's coming-to-be would negate what is.

This is why uprisings appear irrational from the point of view of power, because they speak a different language altogether. The demand to "be rational" is much like the demand to "be practical," which es-

sentially means playing by the rules of the game.

Everyone knows that "rational people" write letters to editors, vote, and abide by all of the laws. But it is exactly this "rational-practicality" that the most radical elements always reject, and for good reasons, which is to say that there are *other reasons* and *other rationalities*, ones that are excluded by the ideological narrowness of those who defend existing conditions.

Revolt is largely about wrenching open that narrowness so that we can see other "rationalities."

Insurrectionary movements exceed the diagnostic and prescriptive efforts of scholars, and everyday people are capable of

discovering (as they have been discovering in uprisings across Middle Eastern and North African countries, in the wave of occupation movements, and in Spain, Turkey, Brazil and elsewhere) that *they are the midwives*, which puts them beyond the subordinate relationship of Meno's slave to Socrates.

In a world such as ours, madness is best expressed by the absence of revolt. We are not worried but reassured by occurrences of riot, insurrection, and revolt.

The various risings-up of insurrection are realizations that madness may find its antidote in the activities of everyday people who throw the world into question. **FE**

Policing the Crisis in Pittsburgh and Boston

Continued from Page 11

police, and the stunned acquiescence and ascent of local residents. In Pittsburgh, the shutdown was preemptive in expectation of the demonstration against the representatives of world finance. Many businesses, terrified by media and police hysteria began boarding up their operations for fear of mass unrest from protesters days before the G-20 events began.

In Boston, the shutdown came in the wake of the attack, carried out, again largely voluntarily, by a citywide manhunt by an occupation-sized force of police, and a public that, from all reports, believed in the justness of the search. Both media events happened during a time of increased surveillance and during a time when there has been more regular domestic use of military technologies brought home from our wars in the Middle East. Each occupation – it is hard to call them by any other name – demanded ascent on the street during and at the polls after the periods of crisis.

During the Pittsburgh events, my reaction was to march in an unpermitted pre-G-20 march, then run from ear-splitting noise emitted by the LRAD, speak out after the fact at a police review board hearing, and then screen, when appropriate, documentaries in my classroom in the following semesters. What struck me at the time, and what I focused on in my scholarly research after the events, was the domestic use of mili-

tary weapons technology by the state to suppress dissent and the legitimacy use gained among the population.

However, in the Boston aftermath, it is the acquiescence of residents that strikes me as the most important fact of both events. That Boston residents would so easily stay inside and give their city over to police without a declaration of martial law was deeply troubling. This was reminiscent of the willingness of Pittsburgh businesses to give into police propaganda and abandon their city during the G-20, and citizen failure to demand any serious consequences from city officials after the police rioted in the neighborhoods where many university students lived and studied. What resonates with me here in Boston four years later, is the seeming entrenched cynicism of twelve years of the global war on terror instead of a wider skepticism of the very wisdom of so-called "Homeland Security."

There must be a caveat here: living

for only a few days under vague threat from a police-force-on-steroids is not remotely as intense as the experience of living in Afghanistan or Iraq over the last decade or, for that matter, the experience of living day-in and day-out in many US neighborhoods where the difference between policing and military occupation seem arbitrary and unnervingly thin: the flashing close-captioned television cameras in West Baltimore, the regular use of curfews in Detroit to constrain youth during major events, or the constant police presence in neighborhoods like Homewood or the Hill in Pittsburgh or Roxbury and Dorchester in Boston.

Which is why on the Friday after the bombing, when I was supposed to be staying inside, I got in my car and drove to the Pit Stop Barbeque in Mattapan near Dorchester and ate a plate of ribs. Luckily, the hard-working owners of the delicious establishment had, like me, simply ignored the official memo. **FE**



At the 2009 G-20 meeting in Pittsburgh, fully militarized police mobilized to protect the world's financial ministers, rioted and attacked people indiscriminately.

Annotations to Anarcho-Crossword answers

See Page 41 for Answer Grid

Voltairine: Voltairine de Cleyre (1866 – 1912); prolific anarchist-feminist writer and lecturer who advocated freethinking and “anarchism without adjectives.”

Crass: British anarcho-punk band, active between 1977-1984, that promoted anarchism, feminism, animal rights, anti-nuclear activism and DIY ethics through music.

Critical Mass: Bicycling event that occurs in cities around the world on the last Friday of every month. First held in San Francisco in 1992. The rides have no central leadership and are a political protest allowing bicyclists to “reclaim the streets.”

State: The political command apparatus of capitalism that administers the economy and represses challenges to its rule. Inherently repressive even when socialists or communists run it.

CNT: Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT); Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union. Key component in the 1936 revolution against capitalism during the Spanish Civil War. Crushed by the fascists and the Communist Party. Outlawed until 1976, currently active.

Libertarian: Co-opted by U.S. right-wingers favorable to capitalism who want minimal state intervention in the economy and personal affairs. The term is used for anarchists in many parts of the world.

Anonymous: A decentralized group of hackers that targets political, corporate and religious websites with denial of service actions. Members of the group often appear in videos with Guy Fawkes masks.

Reclus: Elisee Reclus (1830 – 1905); French geographer and anarchist who produced a 19-volume work, *La Nouvelle Geographie universelle*. Banished from France for political activities including supporting the 1871 Paris Commune.

May Day: May 1, International Workers’ Day, commemorates an 1886 8-hour-day rally in Chicago’s Haymarket Square. A bomb killed several cops for which eight anarchists were convicted on scant evidence and four hung. Corresponds with the pagan spring festival of Beltane.

Modern School: Founded by Spanish anarchist and educator Francisco Ferrer (1859 - 1909) who opened *La Escuela Moderna* in 1901 to educate in a “rational, secular and non-coercive setting.” He was executed after a show trial by the state for sedition in 1906. His death sparked an international movement for libertarian schools including the United States and other countries.

Capitalism: An economic system where property is privately owned and goods and services are traded through markets. Working people are treated as resource, and profits are accumulated by a ruling class. It rewards the lucky, powerful, and devious. Depends on the often willing subjugation of the working class and poor.

Wobblies: Nickname for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a member-run union based on the idea that “the working class and the employing class have nothing in common” and that workers should organize to do away with capitalism. It was founded in 1905; members are currently involved with campaigns at Jimmy Johns, Starbucks and other workplaces. iww.org.

Rocker: Rudolf Rocker (1873 – 1958); German-born anarcho-syndicalist writer, lecturer, and activist that, though a gentile, spoke Yiddish and enjoyed a close relationship with the Jewish anarchist movement. An active opponent to the rise of the Nazis, he emigrated to the United States in 1933 to escape persecution. His published works include the books *Nationalism and Culture* and *Anarcho-Syndicalism*.

Tubthumping: 1996 song by anarcho-punk band, Chumbawamba, which became an international hit, was on movie soundtracks, and played at sporting events. The word describes the act of passionately advocating for a cause and is derived from old an English slang term for preachers who gave fiery sermons while standing on a wash tub.

Sacco and Vanzetti: Nicola Sacco (1891 – 1927) and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (1888 – 1927); Italian-born anarchists executed in the United States in 1927 after being convicted of murder in an armed robbery. Their trial, which attracted worldwide attention, is now commonly thought of as huge miscarriage of justice with the conviction based on their politics and Italian heritage.

Property: The French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809 – 1865) first used the phrase “property is theft” in his book *What is Property? Or, an Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government*.

Food: Food Not Bombs is an international organization dedicated to sharing free public meals with anyone who is hungry. The organization is decentralized, nonviolent, and encourages the consumption of vegan food through tasty meals.

Members in different cities have resisted official attempts to crush the movement with non-violent civil disobedience. foodnotbombs.net.

Parsons: Lucy Parsons (1853– 1942); Mexican and Native American U.S. labor and anarchist organizer. Married to Albert Parsons who was one of the anarchists hung for the Haymarket Square incident. Chicago police described her as “more dangerous than a thousand rioters.”

Flores: Ricardo Flores Magón (1874 – 1922); Mexican anarchist who, with his brothers, were part of the social movement that sparked the 1912 Mexican Revolution.

Bonnot: The Bonnot Gang was a French anarchist illegalist group that operated in France and Belgium in 1911-12. They innovated the use of getaway cars and repeating rifles in their assaults on the rich. Their died in a shoot-out with a huge force of French police and military.

Bookchin: Murray Bookchin (1921-2006) His first book, *Our Synthetic Environment*, was published under the pseudonym Lewis Herber in 1962, a few months before Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*. His later years were marked by cranky denunciations of “lifestyle anarchism.”

Sabotage: From the French, *sabot*, a wooden shoe that early militants threw into machines to stop production.

Waldheim: The Chicago cemetery where Goldman and the Haymarket Martyrs are interred.

Commune: Paris Commune (March-May, 1871) was a brief revolutionary socialist experiment. French government troops crushed the Communards, who set up barricades in the streets and burned public buildings. About 20,000 insurrectionists were killed. After, the government arrested 38,000 and deported more than 7,000.

Anarchy: Anarchy magazine, publishing since 1980. anarchymag.org

Goldman: Emma Goldman (1869 – 1940) anarchism’s best known proponent. Jailed many times for political and sexual advocacy, she was deported to the Soviet Union in 1919 where stayed until becoming disillusioned with the Bolshevik police state’s counter-revolution.

Manning: Bradley Manning, sentenced to 35 years in prison for releasing U.S. war crime and diplomatic information to WikiLeaks, announced he intends to cross-gender and changed his first name.

Revolution: Spanish anarchists led by the CNT created a mass-based worker and peasant revolution between 1936-39 that was undone by an unholy alliance of Stalinists and fascists.

Freedom: Freedom newspaper was established in London in 1886 by Peter Kropotkin and others and continues today. freedompress.org.uk.

Black Flag: The international symbol of anarchy, although some say, “Burn all flags!” Also, hardcore American punk band formed in 1976.

Marx: Karl Marx resorted to slanders, intrigues and trickeries to expel Bakunin from the organization leading to the distortions of later authoritarian state socialism.

Black Bloc: Militants at demonstrations dressed in black and masked to hinder identification; often associated with anarchists and property damage. Developed in the 1980s in the European autonomist movement’s protests.

Bound Together: Anarchist book store at 1369 Haight Street, San Francisco for 35 years.

Consensus: Consensus decision-making seeks the consent of all participants.

Indy: The Independent Media Center (also known as Indymedia or IMC) is a global participatory network of radical journalists that report on political and social issues. indymedia.org and indymedia.us.

Left Bank: Anarchist book store at 92 Pike St., Seattle, leftbankbooks.com.

Zapatistas: Besides being Mexican revolutionaries, the Zapatista Coffee Cooperatives following Zapatismo ideology provide fair trade prices for Chiapas farmers.

One Big Union: The 20th century IWW strategy for uniting all unions into one formation to overthrow capitalism and establish workers’ control.

Dreads: Or, dreadlocks hair style originally from Africa but associated with Jamaican Rastafarians. How to at dreadheadhq.com.

Mutual Aid: Peter Kropotkin, an anarchist but also a Russian prince, published *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* in 1902. Written in response to Social Darwinism after studying cooperation in nonhuman animals, in pre-feudal societies and medieval cities, and in modern times, he concluded that cooperation and mutual aid are the most important factors in the evolution of species and the ability to survive. A key concept for anarchists as opposed to the competition of capitalism.



INFLUENCING MACHINES, INTUITION PUMPS, PARANOIA & the Poisonous Cobra of Surrealism including the Perilous Enchantments of Dreams

PENELOPE ROSEMONT

"The common denominator of the sorcerer, the poet and the madman cannot be anything but magic...the flesh and blood of poetry." —Benjamin Peret

Surrealists have celebrated madness as a means of exploring the possibilities of the human mind. Madness provides that window into how people put together reality; how thoughts are often assembled in an unusual and creative way.

Surrealism has looked to madness for inspiration, for that convulsive image that shakes up the ordinary and affects us deeply; the insight into the way the mind functions.

Paul Garon wrote in "Fate of the Obsessive Image," prepared for the 1972 Conference on Madness convened in Toronto, that "surrealists insist that the world be populated by absolutely unfettered people who can only be described in the language today as insane...[T]he early surrealists, in their cultivation of delirium, were not behaving with romantic evasion, but with desperate lucidity in their intrusion into the

Madness & the Surrealist Imagination

realm of cultural and mental insubordination..."

Neither race nor class play much of a role in the amusing new psychologies of today; they seem to think they are beyond these or perhaps realize fundamentally that mentioning this elephant in the kitchen will doom their grant money forever, so studies are kept cheerfully practical and adaptable to advertising, to propaganda and, quite possibly, to social control.

This does not mean that we should ignore them; anything about the mind, the brain, the self, is of interest to surrealists. Quite possibly this is linked to a comparison between the human brain, how it thinks and the computer; is it thinking or what?

Surrealists and Dadaists were concerned with madness quite early. Andre Breton, a founder of surrealism, and others of his friends saw WWI first hand the physical and mental suffering involved.

Jacques Vaché, Breton's best friend in the army, was a suicide just as the war came to a close. In Nadja, Breton's novel, he speaks of the mentally ill and "the well-known lack of frontiers between madness and non-madness." Nadja is locked away in a mental institution though she poses no threat to anyone and lives a poetic life.

Madness has long been associated with genius, poetic and otherwise. From 1928 on, Breton and his friends immersed themselves "in the personal exploration of unconscious life." Decades later, Chicago surrealist Franklin Rosemont wrote in about the influences of Freud's new science of Psychoanalysis on them, "discoveries regarding infantile sexuality, dreams, daydreaming, slips of tongue and other chance actions (parapraxes), etc., enabled surrealists to view the poetic problems that preoccupied them in an entirely new light." They explored and tried to immerse themselves in various mental states.

Today, psychology has moved for the most part to a new phase and has re-labeled itself and repackaged itself as Neuroscience. One no longer finds the words id, ego, super-ego, etc., anywhere. In their place there is subliminal, cognitive illusion, identity, narrative bias, pattern recognition. The findings of neuroscience, bolstered by experiments, are often quite similar to surrealist games. Frederic Bartlett's whisper game study of the 1900s is used to demonstrate that people impose their own bias on any subject they attempt to remember. This game was very popular with surrealists.

Many contemporary books concern themselves with the exploration and functioning of the mind and revelations about how people make decisions and what they choose; what they desire. Subliminal: *How*

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Who Were the Witches?

Patriarchal Terror & the Creation of Capitalism

Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation, Silvia Federici, Autonomedia 2004, 288pp, \$14.95, autonomedia.org/caliban

ALEX KNIGHT

Silvia Federici's book is an essential read for those of us seeking to overthrow systems of domination and to build a liberated future. What is most fascinating about *Caliban and the Witch* is how it challenges the widely-held belief that capitalism, though perhaps flawed in its current form, was at one time a "progressive" or necessary development.

Uncovering the forgotten history of the Witch Hunt that consumed Europe in suspicion and fire for more than 200 years, Federici demonstrates that capitalism has always relied on spectacular violence, particularly against women, people of color, workers, and those cultivating a more egalitarian life.

The book recalls the enormous and colorful peasant movements of the Middle Ages, which pointed towards non-capitalist futures for Europe, and by extension, the world. However, these paths were blocked. The "shock therapy" of the Witch Hunt was used to terrorize rebels and visionaries, impose new discipline on the body, on female sexuality in particular, and usher in a new social system based on a landless working class and the devaluation of women's labor.

Federici writes, "It is impossible to associate capitalism with any form of liberation or attribute the longevity of the system to its capacity to satisfy human needs. If capitalism has been able to reproduce itself it is only because of the web of inequalities that it has built into the body of the world proletariat, and because of its capacity to globalize exploitation. This process is still unfolding under our eyes, as it has for the last 500 years."



Capitalism - Born in Flames

The main focus of *Caliban* is the Witch Hunt of the 15th–17th centuries in Europe, through which "hundreds of thousands of women were tried, tortured, burned alive or hanged, accused of having sold body and soul to the devil."

Federici argues that this repression was primarily "a war against women," which constructed a new sexual hierarchy based on the division between male wage labor and female unpaid reproductive labor such as raising children, caring for the elderly and sick, nurturing their husbands or partners, and maintaining the home. Those accused of witchcraft were often women who lived outside this binary – as rebels, healers, midwives, or those providing forbidden knowledge of contraception or abortion.

Federici posits this systematic violence against women as one mode in the formation of capitalism when she instructs that "the

witch-hunt occurred simultaneously with the colonization and extermination of the populations of the New World, the English enclosures, and the beginning of the slave trade."

Contrary to "laissez-faire" orthodoxy which holds that capitalism functions best without state intervention, Federici expands upon Marx's proposition that it was precisely the state violence of this "primitive accumulation" that laid the foundation for capitalist economics.

Principally, capitalism could not have been formed without the creation of a landless working class. People do not readily submit themselves to wage labor unless they no longer have an autonomous ability to provide for themselves or their communities.

In Marx's oft-quoted section from *Capital*, "these new freedmen became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production... And the history of this, their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire."

But unlike Marx, who saw the separation of humans from their traditional land-bases as a necessary evil for the expansion of "the productive forces," Federici emphasizes the loss of the freedom we once enjoyed through connection to the land. She points out that before the Enclosures, even the lowliest of serfs had their own plot of Earth with which they could use for just about any purpose.

Federici writes, "With the use of land also came the use of the 'commons' – meadows, forests, lakes, wild pastures – that provided crucial resources for the peasant economy (wood for fuel, timber for building, fishponds, grazing grounds for animals) and fostered community cohesion and cooperation."

Access to land acted as a base of autonomy – providing security for peasants who otherwise were largely subject to the whim of their "Lord." Not only could they grow their own food, or hunt in the relatively plentiful forests which were still standing in that era, but connection to the commons also gave peasants territory with which to organize resistance movements and alternative economies outside the control of their masters.

In the author's words, "As soon as they lost access to land, all workers were plunged into a dependence unknown in medieval times, as their landless condition gave employers the power to cut their pay and lengthen the working-day."

Capitalism has spread itself around the world since that time through the same methods of primitive accumulation. Once we are forced from the land, we have little choice but to submit to the discipline of the factory, office, or school.

A Forgotten Revolution

Caliban is vital for challenging the Marxist theory of a deterministic march through historical stages, wherein capitalism is seen as a necessary development on the road to communism. Federici argues that other pathways existed then, just as the future is open now. "Capitalism was not the only possible response to the crisis of feudal power. Throughout Europe,

vast communalistic social movements and rebellions against feudalism had offered the promise of a new egalitarian society built on social equality and cooperation."

The book's most inspiring chapters make visible an enormous continent-wide series of poor people's movements that nearly toppled Church and State at the end of the Middle Ages. These peasant movements of the 13th – 16th centuries were often labeled "heretical" for challenging the religious power of the Vatican, but from the anti-war, vegetarian Cathars of southern France to the communistic Taborites of Bohemia, they aimed for a much broader transformation of feudal society.

The heretics attained a mass following because they "denounced social hierarchies, private property and the accumulation of wealth, and disseminated among the people a new, revolutionary conception of society."

Most dramatically, in the 1420s and 30s, the Taborites fought to liberate all of Bohemia, beating back several Crusades of 100,000+ men organized by the Vatican. The uprisings became contagious all across Europe, so much so that in the crucial period of 1350-1500, unprecedented concessions were made including the doubling of wages, reduction in prices and rents, and a shorter working day.

Yet, the peasantry who had glimpsed the possibility of liberation would not be appeased by such reforms. Increasing numbers simply left the domains of the Lords to live as wanderers, while others refused to pay tribute or cooperate in the traditional ways. In Federici's words, "the feudal economy was doomed."

Elites responded by instituting the Holy Inquisition, a brutal campaign of state repression that included torturing and burning heretics to death. But as time went on, the target shifted from heretics to women as the Inquisition morphed into the Witch Hunt.

According to Federici, the Witch Hunt succeeded by driving a sexist wedge among workers and peasants that "undermined class solidarity." While women were faced with the threat of horrific torture and death if they did not conform to new submissive gender roles, men were in effect bribed with the promise of obedient wives and greater access to women's bodies.

As accusations of witchcraft swirled, suspicion and fear all but obliterated the solidarity of peasant communities. Not only were heretics and revolutionaries marginalized, but the new social divisions and distrust made it harder for commoners to resist the theft of their land by State-backed entrepreneurs in the Enclosures.

For European elites, in addition to stifling a working class revolution that had increasingly threatened their rule, the Witch Hunt laid the foundation for a new regime of labor exploitation and capital accumulation. Federici summarizes that "Capitalism was the counter-revolution that destroyed the possibilities that had emerged from the anti-feudal struggle – possibilities which, if realized, might have spared us the

immense destruction of lives and the environment that has marked the advance of capitalist relations worldwide."

Today, those of us who hold in our hearts the seeds of new worlds to come can look to the "heretics" and "witches" who resisted capitalism and state domination long before us. Their example should inspire us to carry forward a movement for liberation that is wide as the Earth and old as time.

Alex Knight is the editor of endofcapitalism.com and is writing the coincidentally named book, *The End of Capitalism*. In it, he argues that the global capitalist system is breaking down due to ecological and social limits to growth and we must now transition to a non-capitalist future.

Alex has been active in many social movements attempting to build new democratic pathways, the latest of which is a project called Strike Student Debt.

He can be reached at alex@endofcapitalism.com or found at the nearest rope swing.

Move Marie Mason!

Continued from Page 23

she remains unbroken and uses the enforced isolation to learn and create.

She is learning languages, writing poetry, painting, and maintaining communications with supporters and environmental movements all over the world. Her paintings are extraordinary, many of which are displayed on her support site.

Marie also continues to write and play music. Songs from her album, "No Profit," are available on Soundcloud at soundcloud.com/freemarie. She also recently composed, "Blood and Ivory," which can be found at supportmariemason.org/2013/09/18/blood-and-ivory-song-by-marie-mason. The support group says, "Play it, record it, remix it, and then share it with the Free Marie Committee!"

There are many ways you can help Marie by joining the Free Marie Network and bringing attention to her plight by letter writing, fund raising, benefit dinners and shows, and donations. Support actions are listed at her web site and at movemarie.com. You can join the Free Marie Network at movemarie@riseup.net. **FE**



Stephen Goodfellow, Layabouts lead singer, & FE contributor, in his San Miguel de Allende, Mexico studio.

TALES FROM THE CYBERSPHERE

Fifth Estate on the Web

A guide to the Web presence of Fifth Estate staff, writers, and friends

Complied by Quincy B. Thorn

Besides contributing to this publication, three longtime *Fifth Estate* regulars have also had a part in shaping Detroit's 1980s radical music scene.

Alan Franklin, Ralph Franklin and Stephen Goodfellow, in addition to writing articles and creating graphics for the magazine, played key roles in the Layabouts, a band that, since its founding in the early 1980s, has taken its inspiration from the best in both radical music and anarchist politics. Musically, the group describes itself as "creating a sound that blends rock, ska, reggae, Latin and African rhythms."

From their 1984 album, "No Masters," comes the cut, "Governments Lie." The message is totally clear and, still, timely: "...Sooner or later they've all got to go / History tells us so / There's not a single one of them can make it for too long / But if they go in dribs and drabs / They'll still give us some nasty scabs / So wouldn't it be a whole lot better / If we got rid of them all together!"

In Detroit and among anarchists and other anti-authoritarians in many other places, the FE has been a focus of radical culture since the project began; the Layabouts are one more strand in that culture. Check them out at thelayabouts.com.

Lead singer Stephen's artwork has made numerous appearances on *Fifth Estate* front pages, the last one being the Winter 2013 Education issue, as well as

having designed the magazine's Non Serviam ball on the cover. His web site is goodfellowweb.com. He currently resides in Mexico and paints murals. There is additional Layabouts info at goodfellowweb.com/layabouts/history.html.

Ralph has designed numerous covers, posters, and back pages for our magazine, and provides invaluable technical assistance. Alan has written articles and fiction for the publication.

Fredy Perlman (1934-1985) was a *Fifth Estate* friend and contributor from the mid-1970s until his untimely death at age 51. For a short biography of his productive and eventful life, see the FE's obituary posted on the Anarchist Library at theanarchistlibrary.org/library/anonymous-obituary-of-fredy-perlman.

Fredy's article "Progress and Nuclear Power: The Destruction of the Continent and Its Peoples" (signed T. Nachalo), was his contribution to the FE's April 1979 anti-nuclear special issue that appeared just after the Three Mile Island meltdown.

A version is available at theanarchistlibrary.org/library/fredy-perlman-progress-and-nuclear-power-the-destruction-of-the-continent-and-its-peoples. Fredy's insightful article "The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism" (first published in the Winter 1984 FE), can be found online at theanarchistlibrary.org/library/fredy-perlman-the-continuing-appeal-of-nationalism.

Like most of Fredy's other writings, it was also published by Black & Red; find the entire B&R catalog online at blackandred.org

Now out of print, but available online, is Fredy's thought-provoking (and still relevant) 800 page+ *Letters of Insurgents*, which can be found at theanarchistlibrary.org/library/sophia-nachalo-and-yarostan-vochek-letters-of-insurgents. For an audiobook version see audioanarchy.org/letters.html. Insurgent Summer, a cooperative blog and resource aimed at encouraging reading and discussion of the book, appeared in 2010; at this writing it is still available at insurgentsummer.org/chapters.

Numb & Number

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what couldn't possibly be more a part of alienation and subjection.

Badiou translator, Jason Barker, notes correctly that, "Badiou's canonical politico-philosophical reference point is Althusser's *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*." The Stalinist Althusser supported the French Communist Party against the workers and students of the May '68 uprising.

As Badiou freely admits, "there is no theory of the subject in Althusser, nor could there ever be one." Two communists joining hands against the individual, against liberation. What is "seemingly phrased in strictly mathematical language," as Bruno Bosteels sees it, "is imported from the realm of militant politics." Specifically the Marxist-Leninist versions of such categories, such as "normality, singularity, and excrescence." Even more specifically, Maoism.

Francois Laruelle finds that Badiou's "enterprise has no equivalent in the history of philosophy," a fusion of Platonist mathematicism and Maoism. "Thought" at its most nakedly authoritarian on every level.

Platonism vis-à-vis math means that numbers are independently existing objects. But numbers are not out there, somewhere, to be discovered; they are invented, as Wittgenstein, for one, grasped quite well. Invented to meet the needs of complex, unequal societies. Counting, accounting, a growing obsession that began with domestication and civilization, has reached the point, according to Ellul, where "everything in human life that does not lend itself to mathematical treatment must be excluded."

We can count and measure only the lifeless because such processes necessarily exclude what is living. The noted 19th century mathematician Gottlob Frege proclaimed "the miracle of number," but also stated that "the highest degree of [mathematical] rigor... is at the furthest remove from what is natural." As Thoreau put it succinctly, "Nature so abhors a straight line."

Philosopher of science Keith Devlin is wrong to aver that numbers "arise from the recognition of patterns in the world around us." They arise because they are necessary for running a certain kind of society; numbers have only an imposed relationship to what is found in the world.

Math historian Graham Flegg makes a similar error when he asserts, "Numbers reveal the unity which underlies all of life as we experience it." The "unity" in question did not exist



Grain needed weighing for sale, slaves needed counting and land needed surveying for ownership—and soon enough, for taxation

before it was produced, with the invaluable assistance of number.

In Badiou's nonsensical formulation, mathematics is "the history of eternity." It is considerably saner to notice that the development of math is intimately involved with the development of the whole of civilization.

On the heels of domestication (and its progeny, private property), grain needed weighing for sale, slaves needed counting and land needed surveying for ownership—and soon enough, for taxation. Geometry, after all, is literally "land measurement." Organization and engineering certainly required the services of Egyptian and Babylonian mathematics to enable the first two civilizations in the West.

It is no coincidence that it was the Babylonian/Sumerian civilization, the first real empire, which first developed the idea of written numbers. Number is key to large-scale management and mobilization; numbers and empire have gone hand in hand since earliest times with their employment being central to modern war machines. Babylonian arithmetic was "fully articulated as an abstract computational science by about 2000 B.C.," about 2000 years before the famed "classical" mathematics of the Greeks.

"All is number," announced Pythagorus, who thereby founded a religion, it should be added. Plato, a Pythagorean, composed the soul from seven numbers in his *Timaeus*. And in India as well as in Greece, certain exacting ritual requirements were specified by geometrical exercises intended to avert suffering at the hands of the gods. Nor has this form of idealism died out. The 20th century mathematician-philosopher L.E.J. Brouwer regarded the universe as "a construction of the mathematician."

It was the wealthy, aristocratic Plato who famously asserted the ontological primacy of math, which Badiou unreservedly seconds. A corollary is that for Plato, the first upward steps out of the cave towards wisdom begin with mastery of the arts of number. This put thought on the path of representation and mathematical objectification. Mathematics' more concrete, everyday role—to serve the needs of power—makes this path the history of oppression, rather than Badiou's "history of eternity".

Badiou approvingly quotes the German mathematician Richard Dedekind to the effect that "man is always counting." Of course, it is well-established that in most primal commu-

nities people use only "one, two, many" as the limit of their interest in number. In a recent example, Daniel Everett, referring to his years in Amazonian Brazil, concludes that "the Piraha have no number at all and no counting in any form."

Let us also add a qualification about the use of numbers. Ethnographer W.J. McGee judged that aboriginal people "commonly see in numbers qualities or potencies not customarily recognized by peoples of more advanced culture." The association or coloration used with numbers means that they had not yet lost their sense of the uniqueness of everything, every event.

This is still present with early terms of measurement. The units—such as the yard, the foot, the pound—were of human size and reference, and local relevance, until mass long-distance civilization took over.

Negative numbers came of age in the latter half of the Middle Ages. They were of inestimable assistance with larger financial transactions in which there might be net losses. At this time, international banking greatly expanded, giving math a new value. Well before Galileo, Copernicus, and Descartes provided the Faustian underpinnings for number's cardinal role in dominating nature, math had already become essential for merchants, cartographers, imperial navigators, bankers, and others.

The Scientific Revolution, chiefly of the 1600s, largely revolved around the spirit of number. In 1702, Fontenelle observed that the “geometric spirit” is required if order and precision are to be established.

This spirit bloomed with Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). Knowledge for him is mathematical knowledge. Necessary and *a priori*, already always present, number is central to all the categories of our cognitive process. The new prominence of the mathematical infected society at large. Enlightenment thinkers spoke of a comprehensive “geometry of politics,” a “social mathematics.”

In his *Description of New England* (1616), Captain John Smith asked native individuals how many fish they caught in order to more accurately gauge the level of potential plunder. He found that "the Savages compare their store in the sea to the haire of their heads," most likely an unsatisfactory report. Obsession with a mathematical orientation was present in North America early on, but was not pervasive until the 1820s, according to Patricia Cohen. Her *A Calculating People* focused on "the sudden

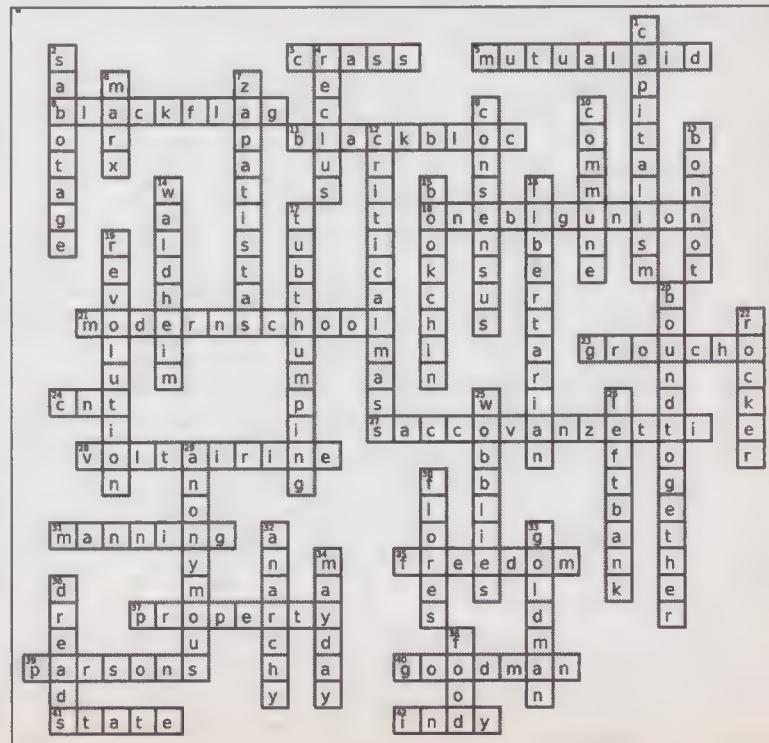
popularity of numbers and statistics in Jacksonian America."

Counting consists of assigning words to things. The first counting symbols were, in fact, the first writing. At this early stage, many cultures expressed letters and numbers by the same symbols. Aleph, for example, expressed both the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet and the first of the ordinal numbers. Spengler pushed the connection much further, wondering whether, with number, one finds "the birth of grammar."

Measurement, like counting, deals with just one aspect of the object it is measuring and assigns a number to that aspect. This abstracting move is basic to the universal standardization of life inherent in globalizing civilization. Of course, there is and always has been resistance. But in the words of psychologist S.S. Stevens, "Given the deeply human need to quantify, could mathematics really have begun elsewhere than in measurement?" In a similar vein, John Stephen Henslow, friend and mentor to Darwin, found that "measurement is what defines humanity. . . is what distinguishes the civilized from the uncivilized."

Growing social complexity and the all-encompassing integration required by modern domination means more and more measurement. Standardized testing is another example of the reductive disease of quantification. It is as ubiquitous as it is imposed.

"A deeply human need"—or the dynamic of ruinous civilization? There is no civilization without measurement, but there is life outside civilization—and ultimately, perhaps *only* outside civilization. >>>>>



Answers to Anarcho-Crossword Puzzle from back page

See page 35 for annotations to the answers

The prevailing view is that knowledge is limited without measurement, that we can't really grasp something unless it can be measured. The word "grasp" is telling; it belongs to the language of control. To control, dominate, and hold nature in our grasp, for example: the lexicon of domestication.

Is this really a way of understanding? What is lost when we only measure? Does this approach not take us away from a more intimate knowing? Traditional indigenous people do not "grasp" in their knowing.

A small instance from the realm of "fitness": e-devices with their apps for measuring bodily performance as a function of various rates: breath, pulse, etc. A way of externalizing and objectifying our own bodies, of losing touch with ourselves and our senses.

This is part of the growing technification and concomitant deskilling, hallmarks of the digital age. Ironically, this movement does not produce greater proficiency in numbers. Numeracy, in fact, is in decline. Computers have replaced cash registers; retail clerks have no need to make change, and many don't know how. A friend, when asked for the time by a teenager, pointed to a nearby clock. The teen couldn't tell time from a clock face, only a digital readout.

Inevitably asked for a definition of time, that always elusive question, Einstein replied that it's what a clock measures. The correspondence between measurement and time has been much discussed; but in what does the measuring of time consist?

Plato found an intrinsic connection between time and number, but that only reminds us that we can't be sure what kind of things time and number are. Aristotle claimed that things are in time the way what is counted is in number, as if that clarifies matters much.

In the 3rd century A.D., Plotinus asked, "Why should the mere presence of a number give us Time?" Which is suggestive, in terms of how time stakes its claim, and prompts a closer look at timekeeping itself.

Consider 7th century Bedouins in what is now Saudi Arabia. Though pastoral (and therefore domesticators), they had a very minimal sense of time. Along came Mohammad, who unveiled time as part of a new religion. Five compulsory prayer times regulated each day. All our days, said the Prophet, are numbered, just as math-guided industrial processes would regulate and number them a millennium later.

For the Mayans and others in Mesoamerica, a focus on time and number mirrored a preoccupation with order and rule. Bergson's *durée*, or lived time, was an attempt to step outside of imposed, identically numbered time. But the bond between time and number has continued and deepened, as domesticating reality commandeers more and more places and lives on the planet.

"There is no way we can escape from numbers," concludes Graham Flegg. Philosopher Michel Serres agrees: "Wherever the road of mathematicity was opened, it was forever." The same unending servitude is consecrated by Badiou, who

Face-to-face, where there is little or no need of counting.

stakes thought itself on number. But we may imagine what could emerge when the counting and measuring and timing is over, by our own ending of it. Imagine what could emerge only in such a world.

The "elegance" of math? Much more akin to the coldness of advanced civilization. Political theorist Susan Buck-Morss expressed this with great eloquence: "The social body of civilization is impersonal, indifferent to that fellow-feeling that within a face-to-face society causes its members to act with moral concern."

Face-to-face, where there is little or no need of counting.

Dedekind said that numbers "are a means of apprehending more easily and more sharply the difference of things." What difference could he have been referring to? The written numbering systems of the ancient Egyptians, Hittites, Greeks, and Aztecs were structurally identical, and this congruence pointed toward the global homogenization so strongly underway now.

A hollowed-out mathematical order is that of closed-off coldness, indifference, cynicism. The rise in the incidence of autism is one sad aspect among many; it may be worth noting that a disproportionate number of math students and theorists have received a diagnosis of autism.

Number trumps quality and qualities; meanwhile Badiou bases his authoritarianism on the deepest grounding for massification and estrangement. Healthy individuals avoid such brutalist "thinkers."

The 2nd century physician Galen provides a cautionary tale: "It has often happened that people have talked happily with me, because of my work among the sick, but when they discover that I am also an expert mathematician, they avoid me."

John Zerzan's articles, which introduced primitivist and anti-civilization ideas to the anarchist milieu, first appeared in the *Fifth Estate* in the late 1970s. His web site is johnzerzan.net. John hosts a one hour live radio show, "AnarchyRadio," Tuesdays, 7:00pm, PST, and streams at KWVA 88.1 in Eugene, Oregon.

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Making Anarchist Films

Mutual Aid Helps the Process

FRANKLIN LOPEZ

In the aftermath of 9/11, I pretty much dropped everything to produce media about the protests against the war in Afghanistan. However, I was clueless about the alter-globalization movement and that mass mobilizations had been happening all over the world for the two years preceding the Twin Towers attacks.

That is, until joining Indymedia in Atlanta.

Indymedia, or IMC, a decentralized network of radical journalists born out of the 1999 anti-WTO demonstrations in Seattle, was now a worldwide phenomenon, and when the US was beating the drums of war, IMC centers became the megaphones for anti-war mobilizations.

The anarchists who staffed the centers introduced me to a new world of indie filmmaking that changed my life forever. Watching “Breaking the Spell,” a film about the WTO protests that was filled with “riot porn,” I kept thinking to myself, “Can they really do that? Is this shit legal?” I borrowed VHS copies of such gems as, “Crowd Bites Wolf,” “Fuck the Corporate Media,” and “The 4th World War,” and decided this was the type of media I wanted to make.

What made those films so exciting was that they were unapologetic about their politics. Anarchists were at the forefront of the action, not the cops or politicians. They displayed a creative celebration of movement victories and radical culture, normalizing the sentiments which I had previously felt somewhat alone in—a hatred for capitalism and authority, and an uncompromising love for freedom and social justice.

Over a decade later, however, it is sad to say that the world of radical anarchist filmmaking, which I had expected would develop by now, has not come to fruition. Maybe my expectations were set too high. After seeing the rapid global spread of IMCs, I imagined that anarchists from all over the world would pick up cheap cameras and pirated copies of Final Cut Pro programs and unleash a new wave of radical cinema.

To be sure, the growth of citizen journalism has had a significant effect on

world politics, but “radical anarchist cinema” doesn’t mean eyewitness video reports of police brutality or “livestreamed” protest events.

I’m talking about films that present big ideas, or fictionalized sci-fi narratives of anarchist utopias; odes to fallen comrades, dramatizations of past battles, music videos, surreal animated shorts, or documentaries that are unambiguous about their political ideals. Take the whole film spectrum and view it through an anarchist lens.

So, what the hell happened? One factor is that the desire of filmmakers to reach larger audiences led many to

bury their politics. Wanting your work to reach a broad audience is understandable, after all, films and videos can be excellent mediums of mass communication. One way to achieve this is to get your films on television. Since the number of radical anarchist TV channels is zero, filmmakers need to either soften their politics or choose topics that are acceptable to the gatekeepers in order to be distributed by mainstream networks.

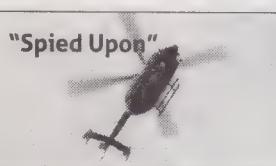
For example, can we imagine HBO or Showtime broadcasting a film openly calling for the destruction of the state? Instead, we are left with talented radical filmmakers making documentaries about human rights abuses, environmental destruction, war, and sweatshop labour. Films about these subjects may be important and practical in some instances—documentaries such as “Gasland,” about fracking, for example, can make organizing popular education events easier, and discussions that follow can often kick start community engagement.

However, many people are tired of seeing films that talk in detail about how fucked up this or that situation is yet never fire people up, or inspire us to be unashamed of our desire for impossible worlds, and that show that we radicals are out there and not alone.

Historically and today, anarchists have been quite good at publishing and distributing written works. Websites about anarchist struggles, theory, and history abound. But when you look for contemporary films made by anarchists, the list is short.

For instance, the AK Press website boasts almost 3,400 books, but only 163 films, which include titles that are not anarchist films, but documentaries on subjects that might have general appeal to radicals.

As an anarchist filmmaker, I understand that making radical films is not an easy endeavour. Some of the hurdles are funding and distribution, the same obstacles that lead filmmakers to go on the pre-carved paths of grant writing, film festivals, and broadcast deals. But I’ve been able to crank out radical films



Radical Films Are Being Made

Tells the story of activists targeted by undercover agents, such as British cop, Mark Kennedy, who worked undercover in more than 20 other countries including the U.S. It exposes the corporate and secret police international spying apparatus, a system out of control. Written and directed by Jason Kirkpatrick, a project of Berlin-based Black Helmet Productions which has a crowdfunding campaign to finish the film. More info and videos at spiedupon.com.

consistently for the past ten years, so, it can be done.

Here are a few suggestions about how to go about the process:

1. Share your knowledge. Experienced anarchist filmmakers can mentor and skill share. Mentors can save would-be filmmakers a lot of trouble by sharing their experiences, technical know-how, and past mistakes. They can also help to alleviate the fears new filmmakers may have, giving critical feedback, and encouraging them to keep going and work through the rough patches rather than giving up.

2. Create visibility. Organize screenings and festivals of anarchist films. The Chicago Anarchist Film Festival is a great example of how we can promote radical cinema to audiences outside our milieu. The CAFF has successfully been doing so for over ten years. Imagine the

potential of projects like this cropping up in every major city.

3. Mutual Aid. Crowd funding has been instrumental in getting many indie film projects made. If you see an anarchist film project needing financial assistance and have a few bucks to spare, kick it their way. Also, organizations that fund anarchist projects could set up grants, which are specifically for film. Filmmakers who live in the same locality can share equipment and other resources or work on each other's films as technicians, actors, or production staff.

4. Think big! We saw how Indymedia revolutionized online media publishing before blogs or YouTube even existed. We have incredible creative minds in our communities. How about a global collaborative film distribution network for anarchist films? I'm willing to discuss this with serious interested parties;

email me frank@submedia.tv

For the past few years, we have seen how interest in anarchism has grown by leaps and bounds. From Occupy Wall Street to anarchists in Egypt, Turkey, and other sites of resistance around the world, the desire to break from the shackles of the state is reaching global proportions. Anarchists have to recognize that the moving image is among the most effective communications tools available.

Powerful and rousing films can aid in keeping the insurrectionary momentum going and turn on a new generation of people to the most exciting and liberating political philosophy in history.

Franklin Lopez, hosts the web site submedia.tv where his commentaries and documentaries, including END CIV, may be viewed and downloaded for free.

The Poisonous Cobra of Surrealism

Continued from Page 36

the Unconscious Mind Rules Your Behavior by Leonard Mlodinow and *Thinking, Fast and Slow* by Daniel Kahneman, concern themselves with the exploration and functioning of the mind and revelations about how people make decisions and what they choose; what they think they desire.

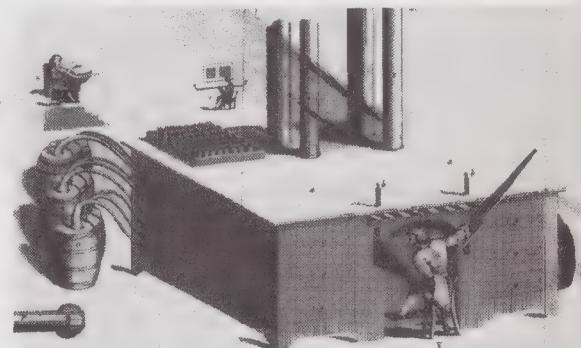
They have just discovered the irrational, something that is very basic to surrealism.

Mlodinow talks about the "new unconscious" to distinguish it from Freud's idea of repressed desires. The new unconscious is considered normal architecture of the brain; no deeply hidden sexual impulses here. Have you noticed neurotics are gone but every other person has Aspergers? This new science is quite applicable to advertising and social conditioning.

The Influencing Machine is a concept that goes back to 1919, used by psychoanalyst Victor Tausk. It describes the idea possessed by schizophrenics of being influenced by a "diabolical machine" that operates on their thoughts and influences their actions from a distance.

Today, our world is filled with such apparatuses of all sorts: computers, movies, music, phones, i-pads,

The Influencing Machine describes the idea possessed by schizophrenics of being influenced by a "diabolical machine" that operates on their thoughts and influences their actions.



etc. This earlier concept almost seems like a prophecy. Social conditioning begins with the foods that reward us as children and intensifies in the schools where we learn what are socially acceptable ideas, socially acceptable ways of acting, and especially socially acceptable goals; all very boring and mediocre.

Somehow, our toxic social system tries to make a distinction between murdering your neighbors and massacring people in foreign countries (Movie theater, work place, and school massacres show this doesn't seem to be working as well as it once did.)

Fredy Perlman, in his 1969 pamphlet, *The Reproduction of Daily Life*, comments with insight, that it is the everyday practical activity that reproduces a social system, "a specific social response to particular material and social conditions."

It seems that since Noam Chomsky's idea of innate syntax in linguistics, there have been studies to

see what else could appear to be innate. A most interesting one is Narrative Bias, another pattern recognition.

According to popular writer David Mc Raney, "You make sense of life through narrative. . .All your assumptions about reality come together in a sort of cohesion engine that runs while you are awake and reassures you that things are going as expected."

One of his examples in his best selling, *You Are Not So Smart*, is the famous case of the Three Christs of Ypsilanti, where a social psychology professor from Michigan State University brought together three mental patients all who thought they were Jesus Christ and who persisted in their beliefs even after many meetings with each other.

McRaney concludes, "We make sense of the world through narrative (stories, myths). You and the three Christs are not so different. . .their delusions are just much easier to see through. . .you too are unaware of how unaware you are."

According to Benjamin Peret, a French surrealist, in his wonderful, "Magic, the Flesh and Blood of Poetry," says, "the sorcerer, the poet and the madman have a common denominator. But the madman, having broken off with the exterior world, drifts on the wild ocean of his imagination and we cannot see what he is looking at."

With a bit of insight into poetry, Mc Raney claims, "All brains are bards, all selves audiences to the tales of who they are." He came to the conclusion, "You might find it alarming to learn that neuroscience and psychology have teamed up over the last twenty years and used their combined powers to reach a strange and unsettling conclusion: the self is not real, it's just a story. . .created by your narrative bias."

French-Brazilian sociologist and philosopher, Michael Lowy, already had a more far reaching insight when he said, "Narratives have kept whole societies together. The great mythologies of the ancients and moderns are stories made up to make sense of things on a grand scale."

McRaney brings forward the idea of "negation delirium" from Jules Cotard, a French neurologist, who in 1870 used it to describe people who were paralyzed, but denied it. Quite applicable to a social critique in that we slave at work but are quite convinced that we are free. Buy the most advertised product, but are sure we chose it freely. We are estranged from our own desires because social desires have been implanted.

Intuition Pumps is a useful phrase coined recently by philosopher Daniel C. Dennet to describe little stories "designed to provoke a heartfelt, table-thumping intuition. . .about whatever thesis is being defended." Who we are is the "stories we tell ourselves." This could be right out of Nadja, who claimed to tell herself stories all the time.

Intuition pumps do not need to be true, they do not need to be logical, they could be quite magical for all that, but they must provoke the mind on some level

A well-known surrealist practice is the Paranoid-Critical method invented by Salvador Dali in the 1930s. Developed from an idea of André Breton on the phantom object. Also, surrealist artist Max Ernst's phantom images.

The Paranoid-Critical method was based on the idea that

the brain looks for patterns unceasingly. Dali described it as "a spontaneous method of irrational knowledge based on the critical and systematic objectivity of the associations and interpretations of delirious phenomena." Sounds like the surrealists had quite a few insights into how the brain works that are being explored today by psychologists.

Don't conclude that since there is so much to be found of interest in madness that it is pleasant; it is heart-braking, it is dangerous, it devastates lives. It is, to a great extent, manufactured by our social system.

Walking down Chicago Avenue near Main street in Evanston, Ill., I encountered a book on the sidewalk. It was being tossed out by The Book Den, but it was unusual in that it was over a hundred years old; a bound copy of Century Magazine from 1888.

In very bad condition, true, but could be mined for the gold of collage material. Opened at random to page 758, there was an article on Russia regarding the "Effects of Solitary Confinement;" subheads: "Breaking Character" and "Delusions of the Insane Political Convicts." They weren't insane when they were sent to prison, but were totally destroyed by solitary confinement. What is madness in this context? Often a last and desperate attempt of the mind to make sense of the world.

I call surrealism the poisonous cobra because it still has the power to counter and fight this repressive civilization. Once you have been bitten by this snake, you never see things in the same way again. It has the power of revelation, the perilous enchantment of dreams, and all the force of liberated desire.

Penelope Rosemont met with André Breton and the Paris surrealist group in 1965-66. She edited and introduced *Surrealist Women: An International Anthology* published by University of Texas Press in 1998. Her latest book is a memoir, *Dreams & Everyday Life: André Breton, Surrealism, Rebel Worker, SDS & the Seven Cities of Cibola* published by Charles H. Kerr Company.

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Letters

Continued from Page 2

never felt so racist, classist, sexist, and heteronormative!

So, sure, you've had some challenging experiences through your experimentation with the poly community over the years and you've decided it's not for you, but hardly a critique that makes.

And, sure, maybe you want your LGBT friends to have the same rights as you, but maybe you should worry about all people having access to things they need to survive, like health care and citizenship status, without being coerced to marry by the state. Until a time at which our immediate needs are not met through state sanctioned institutions like marriage, to wed or not to wed will never be just a simple choice one makes about how to love.

Ryan Conrad
Co-founder Against Equality
againstequality.org

More on Monogamy and Marriage

As anarchists and surrealists, we already have our new world now; it's in how we live our daily lives and being examples of possibilities.

If you don't believe in the church or state, how could you possibly believe in church/state sanctioned marriage? [See Andrew William Smith's, "Polyamory and Power, FE, Summer 2013]

A pagan or DIY ceremony is delightful. If I'm with someone or someone's for five minutes, five hours, five days or 50 years, that's our business and nobody else's. Marriage is a weak bond between humans. If it were strong it wouldn't need so much reinforcement from the church, state, and societal pressures.

The only associations between or among humans that are worthy are those that are free because it's only in these types of relationships that we flourish instead of retard or debilitate ourselves.

Those marriages that do manage to thrive do so in spite of the institution

and not because of it. There is not one institution in this society that is upheld as necessary, good, or as a necessary evil, that is free. Think of them: school, marriage, work, military, prison. Damn them all.

You want to be with somebody, be with somebody; why beg for permission and rights? Rights? What are rights? What the privileged class tells us we can and cannot do.

I'm sick of fighting and marching for every little or even every great advance: the right to vote, the right to sit, the right to inhabit any spot on this globe of my choice with whomever of my choice, the right to this; the right to that, the right not to do this or that; like fight your wars.

What gives you the right to determine rights? Only your billy clubs, guns, and jails; the privilege to wield punishment that you most wrongfully assume.

I won't allow rulers to control my thoughts, nor will I allow my comrades and companions. I'm open to being influenced out of my own free will and desires but I'm not open to thought coercion or manipulation from any quarter.

Gale Ahrens
Chicago

Andrew William Smith replies: After just a few years since co-editing an issue of Fifth Estate for the last time, I was thrilled when the *FE* editorial crew invited me to contribute an essay for the Sex and Anarchy issue.

My perspective on polyamory and marriage was just that—a perspective and not a position. While I am grateful for all the vigorous responses the piece received, I'm not sure what all the fuss is about from these readers' perspectives.

The magazine chose to publish a reply as long as the essay in part to show that my endorsement of monogamy and marriage hardly represents the consensus for *FE* or for anti-authoritarians anywhere else.

My critics focused on my embrace of a more conservative lifestyle and its apparent complicity with church and

state. The replies didn't address my concerns about the power dynamics of plural relationships, where it seems a reckless notion of romantic hierarchy can flourish.

While anarchists in general will probably never embrace traditional marriage as an ideal, the vigorous denunciations of my participation in this institution sounded like their authors were upset about something other than my article, which was a personal narrative and not a position paper.

It's a radical commitment to love and even romance that inspired my experimental phase and still inspires me in my more traditional choices. Love it seems should have multiple ways to flourish and many more choices, including even ones that some people would see on the surface as reinforcing the status quo.

Taking It Personal

Patrick Dunn in "To Abolish Rape, Overthrow Male Desire" (*FE* Summer 2013), so literally makes male desire/penetration to be the enemy that it's embarrassing, especially in a publication like the *Fifth Estate*. It's a sexist, anti-sex, old fashioned throwback argument.

I make no apologies for what I do in bed. "Violence towards women?" I don't think so. No woman has ever complained.

Dunn makes it so literal that I am taking it personal.

And, what about women's desire?

The Sultan of Sex
Yonkers, New York

Patrick Dunn replies: This reader clearly has no understanding of what is meant by "male desire" (or, for that matter, "desire"); otherwise, I doubt he would be lobbying so zealously on its behalf.

First, "desire" is not the same as "sex," or "sex involving males," or any other form of sex enjoyed by this reader. The idea that sex and desire are inseparable, and that "desire" is a natural or necessary extension of sex, is precisely what my article rejects.

Moreover, desire, in the relevant sense, is not an individual sensation or event, but a generalized force or organization of power. Indeed, what my article suggests, but does not make explicit, is that "desire" might be conceived as the primary reifying force governing all the rituals and behaviors that make up human culture.

It is obvious to me, as it will no doubt be obvious to anyone else who is paying attention, that "human culture," as far as history records, is patriarchal culture. Thus, it is "male desire" whose overthrow is in question.

The article arose from my need to address the widespread problem of rape, which exists in every civilized society, and involves brutal, often lethal, violence perpetrated overwhelmingly by males against females.

In thinking through this problem, I also hoped to stimulate critical discussion of the power relations involved in male-female sex (which I highly recommend) – and, to this extent, I welcome the reader's remarks.

His predictable, defensive reaction to the observation that rape is a manifestation of male desire, and his smug denial of violence against women, I find so disgusting as to not warrant further comment.

Brothers Behind Bars

As the editor of the Brothers Behind Bars Pen Pal List, I would ask that you give our information to anyone seeking a pen pal from among the gay, bi, trans male inmates throughout the US.

We publish the list quarterly consisting of roughly 300 ads plus art work, poetry and other things of interest. We generally ask a \$3.00 to \$10.00 donation per copy.

People can reach us at the bbbmyrlin@yahoo.com or by writing BBB, PO Box 68, Liberty, TN 37095.

Harry Vedder, Editor
Myrlin

Cautioning Anarchists

As an anarchist/anti-authoritarian I appreciated Jonny Ball's article about modern Vietnam in the Winter 2013 FE.

Frank Joyce's assertion in the Letters section of the Summer 2013 FE that it's

"risky business" for a "Westerner" to "pass judgment on another country's government or social order," makes me profoundly uneasy for several reasons, some of which were clearly dealt with by Ball and others in the same section.

I would like to add that, if followed, this caution could block anarchists from understanding the struggles of and offering solidarity to those who oppose governments in such places, as part of their fight for individual liberty in the context of egalitarian sociability and real community.

It would make it difficult if not impossible for us to identify with explicit and implicit anarchists/anti-authoritarians outside the legally established boundaries of the nation-state we live in, and especially if they are unfortunate enough to be opposing governments that have resisted the domination of the U.S. or other Western capitalist powers.

It would also rob us of the opportunity to explore the real possibilities and problems which can occur when people pursue the ongoing project of attempting to create a new and better social world. It is important for both us and other people who fight for anarchistic and anti-authoritarian goals that we engage in the challenge of figuring out what the explicit and implicit anti-authoritarian struggles in those places are about.

We can't afford to accept the anti-

egalitarian argument that those people can't yet afford the luxury of the kind of liberty we ourselves aspire to. I don't wish to support the people by supporting the most benevolent or least repressive political groupings, hoping that better things might come later.

The caution against judging governments other than our own can make it very difficult to recognize and respect the voices of dissenters opposing them, such as the Vietnamese writer, Duong Thu Huong, who has spoken out against the brutality of various Vietnamese government policies, and lack of freedom of expression or debate in her country.

It can frighten us away from listening to the voices of such dissidents as Ngo Van, the author of *In the Crossfire: Adventures of a Vietnamese Revolutionary*, and Truong Nhu Tang who wrote, *A Vietcong Memoir*, both of whom were participants in the resistance against the French and U.S. occupiers, and both of whom subsequently became critics of the established Vietnamese communist regime.

Refusing to seek out and get to know such people's ideas can only weaken both us and them by weakening all of our ability to resist the machinations of the holders of state power and aspirants to such power.

No state, no master!

S. Kashdan
Seattle

Montreal's 9th International Anarchist Theatre Festival Call-Out for Proposals

The Montreal International Anarchist Theatre Festival (MIATF), the only theatre festival in the world dedicated to showcasing anarchist theatre, is currently seeking submissions to be staged during May and June 2014. Application deadline for the Montreal International Anarchist Theatre Festival: January 31, 2014.

The MIATF is looking for English and French plays and monologues (or mime pieces) on the theme of anarchism or any subject pertaining to anarchism, i.e., against all forms of power including the state, capitalism, war, alienation, critiques of salaried work, etc. Pieces exploring ecological, social and economic justice, race, poverty, class and gender from an anarchist perspective will also be considered. We welcome work from anarchist and non-anarchist writers.

Go to anarchisttheatrefestival.com; email: anarchistfestival@yahoo.ca; mail to: MIATF C.P. 266, Succ. C, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H2L 4K1

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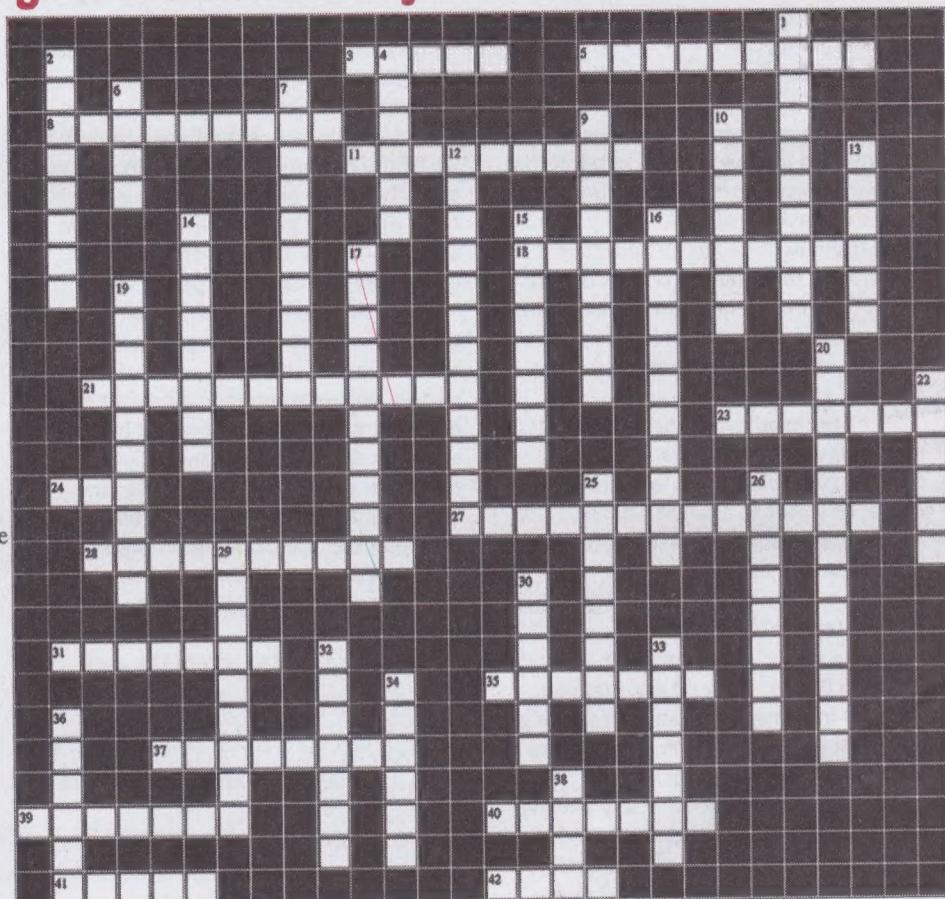
An Anarcho-Crossword Puzzle to test your knowledge of anarchist history and culture

Across

3. Brit anarcho-punk band; also rude or distasteful
5. Not charity; the Prince agrees 6,3
8. Anti-roach spray, early punk band, but you can wave it 5,4
11. Cops and Chris Hedges hate them 5,4
18. IWW wants it 3,3,5
21. Anarchist education founded by Spanish anarchist Francisco Ferrer 6,6
23. Anarchists most loved marxist
24. Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union
27. Woody Guthrie sang about these two Italian-American anarchist martyrs 5,7
28. Anarchist woman friend of Emma Goldman whose first name could be shocking
31. A hero; was Bradley; now Chelsea
35. What we want and name of a magazine
37. Proudhon said it's purloined
39. Husband was a martyr. One could love Lucy
40. Warned against growing up absurd
41. Political arm of the ruling class
42. This media is independent

Down

1. Economic system that exploits and dehumanizes
2. Bosses should never forget a wooden shoe
4. French anarchist geographer; name sounds like a word for hermit
6. Bakunin's 1st International opponent
7. Farmers of radical coffee
9. Painfully slow decision process
10. Hippies had them and so did Paris
12. Anarchy on bikes or could cause a nuclear reaction 6,4
13. Early 20th century French anarchist gang who robbed the rich
14. Emma joined the Haymarket Martyrs there
15. Wasn't Lewis Herber
16. Term for anarchist stolen by confused U.S. right-wingers
17. Street speakers did it; Chumbawamba sang it
19. This Iberian Peninsula country had a civil war, but for anarchists it was more



20. San Francisco anarchist book store 5,8
22. Anti-authoritarian writer on nationalism, but also a rock-and-roll enthusiast
25. Nickname for Industrial Workers of the World
26. Seattle anarchist bookstore 4,4
29. Anarchistic group of hacktivists wants to be unknown
30. Mexican revolutionary's flowery middle name
32. What we want and name of a magazine
33. "The most dangerous woman in America"
34. Workers holiday 3,3

Answers with multiple words are indicated like in 5 Across.

Answer grid on Page 41. Annotations on Page 35.

Thanks to Dave Regan at armoredpenguin.com where this puzzle also appears under the Politics heading.